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UNDER THE SANCTION OF
THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—Our Parliamentary Record gives, *in extenso*, a report of the proceedings in the House of Commons upon the Immigration Question. On the 3rd ultimo, Mr. C. Buxton moved for a Committee “to inquire into the present condition of the West Indies, and the best means of promoting immigration into them.” He ultimately withdrew it, on a promise from Sir E. B. Lytton that the Committee should be granted, provided certain papers, then in preparation, should not be found to furnish the requisite information. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Buxton unintentionally misrepresented the views of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* on the question of immigration, but on the 11th took the opportunity of correcting the error. On the 18th he moved for some important returns relating to Immigration loans.

Many additional Memorials have been addressed to Sir E. B. Lytton since our last issue, against the Jamaica Immigration Bill, which were placed in the hands of Parliamentary Members for presentation.

The West-India Committee have issued a circular to Members of Parliament, stating that the West-India party have every thing to gain from inquiry, but objecting to its taking place at present. In the circular—which bears the signature of Mr. Stephen Cave, as Chairman of the Committee—an attempt is made to refute the allegations of the *Anti-Slavery Committee*, but they do not touch the points at issue.

Three Lectures on American Slavery have been delivered at the Rotunda, Dublin, by

Miss Remond, a member and lecturer of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, who has visited England for health and Anti-Slavery purposes. She is a coloured lady. Report says she demonstrates in clear and forcible language the evils of Slavery, and denounces it in all its forms as contrary to every principle of justice and morality, and to all doctrines of Christianity. In the course of her lectures, Miss Remond gives an account of the Abolitionists in Europe and America. She has been listened to with marked attention.

AMERICA.—On the 12th of February the Territory of Oregon was admitted into the Confederation of States of the American Union by a vote of the House of Representatives of 114 to 103. The Bill for its admission passed the Senate on the 14th of May last year, by a vote of 36 to 16. The Confederation now consists of thirty-three States, of which eighteen are free. There are five territories besides, and the District of Columbia, which is considered neutral ground. There are, also, in process of organization the three new territories of Dacotah, Arizona, and Jefferson. The new State is twice the size of France, and the latitude of its southern boundary is about that of Florence. Its population is now about 50,000, being 10,000 more than the number required by law to constitute a State. Although a Free State, the following provision introduced into its Constitution shews that the section in the Bill of Rights, declaring that “every man shall have remedy by due course of law for injury done him in person, property, or reputation,” is to be virtually set aside, upon the principle promulgated in the Dred Scott decision, refusing the rights of citizenship to negroes :

"No free negro or mulatto, not residing in the State at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall ever come, reside, or be within this State, or hold any real estate, or make any contract, or maintain any suit therein; and the Legislative Assembly shall provide, by penal laws, for the removal by public officers of all such free negroes and mulattoes, and for their effectual exclusion from the State, and for the punishment of persons who shall bring them into the State, or employ or harbour them therein."

It would appear that the new State has been admitted in violation of the cardinal principle laid down during the Lecompton discussions, namely, that no new State should be incorporated into the Union without a population equal to the ratio required for a representative in Congress. Of the 103 votes against the Bill for its admission, thirty were from the Slave States. Briefly it may be stated that its Constitution confers, as some other new States do, the right of suffrage on resident foreigners who have declared their intention to be, but have not yet been, naturalized, and excludes negroes and mulattoes from the polls. It is still more unjust towards this latter class. It does not sanction chattel Slavery, but it makes as near approach to it as possible without incorporating it directly into the civil polity of the State. It also excludes free coloured men from the polls, and, as the clause above quoted shews, banishes all free persons of colour from the State; it denies to them the right to acquire and hold property; it does not allow them to be witnesses, or even to sue in the Courts of Justice; and treats them as outlaws, or rather as beings divested of all the rights and attributes of humanity. Oregon, therefore, stands committed to the interests of Slavery, and her freedom is merely nominal.

The editor and proprietor of the *Free South*, a newspaper published in Kentucky, and devoted to the advocacy of the abolition of Slavery, has been reduced to great straits, in consequence of the course he has pursued. His name is W. S. Bailey, and much sympathy is being manifested for him. His homestead has been seized, and he is on the point of losing it, unless the friends of the cause of Freedom come to his rescue. The loss of his dwelling, however, seems to concern him less than the ruin which threatens his printing establishment. Donations were coming in at the date of our latest advices; but up to that time he had hardly begun to realize any part of the sum necessary to arrest the progress of his impending misfortunes. As the *Free South* is the first Anti-Slavery newspaper which has made a stand in a Slave State, it is to be hoped that aid will be extended to W. S. Bailey from this country, to enable him to continue his praiseworthy attempt.

Dr. G. Bailey, editor and proprietor of the *National Era*, is reported to be upon the point of revisiting England, at the request of Mr. Cobden. Mr. Bailey's health has been greatly shattered, it is said, by over-labour.

Congress has terminated its sittings without accomplishing any of the Pro-Slavery projects submitted during the session.

In the Senate, on the 25th of February, the Bill appropriating 30,000,000 dollars for the acquisition of Cuba was taken up, and a long and animated debate took place upon it. Mr. Wilson, Republican, offered an amendment, proposing that the President be authorized and requested to open negotiations with Spain and the nations south of the United States on the American Continent, for the removal of all unjust and illiberal restrictions on trade and commerce between them and their dependencies and the United States; and that, to defray the necessary expenses of such negotiations, the sum of 50,000 dollars be appropriated. But the amendment was finally rejected, by a vote of 30 to 16.

Senator Brown, a supporter of the original proposition, moved, as a test vote, that the Bill be laid on the table. This motion was lost by a vote of Yeas, 18; Nays, 30.

On the following day, Mr. Slidell, the proposer of the Bill, said that all the moral effect of the approval of a majority of the Senate having been gained, he should let the Bill lie over until next session.

President Buchanan, in reply to a call of the House of Representatives for information concerning the African slave-trade, stated that the instructions to the commanders of the squadron are such that seizures are not likely to be made, except under circumstances which would ensure a certificate of probable cause, if they did not authorize condemnation. The object has been to avoid vexatious interruptions of lawful commerce. The only instance then known to the department, in which an officer capturing a slaver, or suspected slaver, on the Coast of Africa, has been sued or otherwise embarrassed by the owners, officers, or agents of the captured vessels, was that of Commander Simonds, who captured the brig *Casket*. In his case no damages had been recovered against him, and the expenses incurred by him in defending the suit were refunded him, under the Act of Congress of 1854. The number of captures made by the American squadron under the treaty of Washington, previous to September last, was twenty, of which six were condemned.

Advices from Leavenworth, Kansas, state that a Bill abolishing and prohibiting Slavery in the territory had passed the Legislature; but it was expected to receive the veto of Governor Medary.

AFRICA: WEST COAST—Our advices, up

to the 6th of February last, set forth that the slave-trade influence had been making considerable progress during the last few months. The trade in palm-oil from Lagos, which in 1857 amounted to 4942 tons, and exceeded the export of 1856 by 1058 tons, shewed a deficit in 1858, compared with the previous year, of 330 tons; while this year the whole export of palm-oil from Lagos is not expected to reach 3000 tons, whereas in 1856 it already amounted to 3884 tons. This deplorable retrogression is ascribed entirely to the disturbing influence of the slave-trade, openly revived at Whydah, in consequence of the attempts of the French to carry out their immigration scheme by the purchase of slaves. It is now certain that Gezo, the tyrant monarch of Dahomey, is dead. On the occasion of his funeral rites, eight hundred slaves were sacrificed, in accordance with the horrible native custom. He is succeeded by his son, who is reported to be as cruel as his late father, and who had already made a great slave razzia into the neighbouring country.

FRANCE.—The Havre journals announce that one of the last acts of Prince Napoleon, as Minister of Algeria and the Colonies, was to contract with a great shipping house of Bordeaux for the conveyance of 10,000 Chinese immigrants into Martinique.

HOLLAND.—The British slaveholders of Surinam, who are also the largest owners of slave property, have addressed a long Memorial, couched in very intemperate language, to the Second Chamber of the Dutch Legislature, against the project of Emancipation now under consideration, and demanding a larger amount of compensation. It is signed by R. Kirk, C. Gray, George Nicholson, G. M'Donald, Adam Pearson, and Widow Ferrier, on their own behalf, and on that of their principals. Sir John Young, late High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, is one of the largest slaveowners. His agents are the Messrs. Wittering, Brothers, of Amsterdam.

No report upon the Ministerial project has as yet been made public, but it is certain that the Dutch Government has resolved to effect Emancipation upon the principle of compensation.

HAVANA.—Private advices from Havana confirm the statements made in the correspondence of the American newspapers as to the great activity of the slave-trade. We are also positively informed that the Chinese "immigrants" introduced into the island are treated as slaves, flogged, and chained, and, in fact, killed off during their term of "apprenticeship," which is eight years.

WEST INDIES.—The Jamaica Legislature has closed its sittings. The passing of the new Election Law had caused great excitement. A public meeting had been held at

Kingston, to petition Her Majesty against a measure which raises the qualification of electors, with a view to limit their number, and imposes an annual fee of 10s. 6d. on the registration of every voter. G. W. Gordon, Esq., a County Magistrate, was in the chair; and a Committee was appointed to draw up a Memorial to the Queen.

The newspapers are urging the cultivation of cotton, stating that the soil and climate of Jamaica are more favourable to the growth of cotton than either the East Indies, Demerara, or the Southern States of America. Two crops a-year of the finest cotton may be ensured. Complaints, however, of want of capital for any new enterprise are made.

The Executive Committee for the Finance Department had under consideration, for the purpose of covering the deficit in the revenue, a proposal for imposing additional duties on the importation of the following articles, all, it will be remarked, commodities largely consumed by the labouring classes:

	Present Duty. s. d.	Proposed Additional. s. d.
Wheat, per bushel .	0 6 ..	0 3
Codfish, per quintal,	2 0 ..	1 0
Alewives, per barrel	2 0 ..	2 0
Herrings, ditto .	2 0 ..	2 0
Ditto, smoked .	0 6 ..	0 2
Mackerel, ditto .	4 0 ..	3 0
Salmon, ditto .	10 0 ..	5 0
Rice, per cwt.	2 0 ..	2 0
Corn-meal, per barrel, 1	0 ..	1 0
Bread and Biscuits, per cwt	6 0 ..	1 0
Table Salt	0 1 ..	1 11
Lard	5 0 ..	1 0
Tallow Candles, per box	2 6 ..	1 0
Flour, per barrel .	6 0 ..	1 0

The Jamaica District Committee of the *London Missionary Society* had, at a meeting held on the 19th and 20th of January, passed the following very strong resolution against the Immigration Bill:

"Resolved.—That in the opinion of this meeting the Bill entitled 'A Bill to amend the laws relating to agricultural immigrants, and to provide for the repayment of the expenses attendant upon their introduction, and subsequent colonization, in this island,' which has recently passed the Legislature of this island, is substantially the same as the Immigration Act which was disallowed by Her Majesty in Council last year; that the alterations in it were effected with the view to meet the objections of the Home Government to the former Bill; that, although in some localities there may be, at particular seasons of the year, a difficulty in obtaining an adequate supply of labour, yet it is the deliberate conviction of this meeting that this is a difficulty which

cannot be avoided so long as the estates fail to supply continuous employment to the labourers; that being convinced that any opposition to the present measure would be useless, it can but thus express its disapproval of the principles and provisions of the present as well as of the former immigration scheme, believing that it is unnecessary for the cultivation of the estates; that it will be injurious alike to the emigrants and to the community at large; and that it will ultimately impose a heavy charge upon the island treasury.

"Resolved—That a copy of the above Resolution be forwarded to the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*.

"WILLIAM ALLOWAY, Secretary."

BARBADOS.—His Excellency Governor Hincks was to leave Barbados on the 12th of last month, on his way to England, *via* Havana, New Orleans, New York, and Canada. He had just returned from a tour of the islands under his jurisdiction. At Grenada he was employed in investigating cases of Coolie grievances. He had a Member of Council and of Assembly summoned before the stipendiary magistrate, and convicted of cheating his Coolie labourers, by paying them 6d. a day, instead of 10d., as he had agreed. His case was a common one. The party appealed to the Chief Justice, who, however, affirmed the judgment of the magistrate. This estate is called Clarke's Court, and is the property of Mr. Russell Ellice, of London, who, probably, is quite ignorant of the conduct of his attorney, Mr. John M'Donell. It appears that the Immigration Agent made the complaint before the stipendiary magistrate, Captain Hutcheson. The Coolies are promised 10d. a day in Calcutta; but when they arrive, the Grenada planters put them off, by saying, that as they cannot do the work of the Creoles, they must take less wages, and these they fix at their own price. The Grenada papers, which are in the interest of the planters, had not failed to abuse Governor Hincks for his interference on behalf of the Coolies. A British steamer, bound for Cuba, having on board 400 Chinese, had put into Barbados. The ship's papers were quite regular, though no doubt exists that these unfortunate beings will be made slaves of. Mr. James Nibbs Brown had been appointed one of the police magistrates for Grenada, which had given much satisfaction.

Intelligence had reached St. Lucia, from a London firm, that the ship *Palmyra*, of 690 tons, had been chartered to carry Coolies to this island, and that she was to sail from Calcutta about the 1st of January last. The *Palmyra* would carry about 300 Coolies, and was expected in St. Lucia about the end of March. There were some hopes of a second vessel being sent this year.

TRINIDAD.—The *Akbar* arrived at Trinidad on the 3d of January last, in 108 days, from

Calcutta, with a cargo of Coolies. Out of 315, forty-two died on the passage. Twelve vessels were reported to have been chartered, to bring as many more cargoes.

BRITISH GUIANA.—The Court of Policy had sanctioned an expenditure of 35,000 dollars for the introduction of 1000 Portuguese immigrants; thereby doubling the sum that had been appropriated for this purpose. The Governor had also instructed the Attorney-General to bring in a Bill, sanctioning the continuance of the experiment of allowing private persons to introduce Chinese at their own expense. The Bill was to make provision for the introduction of females, as a *sine qua non*. A letter was read from Mr. Gerard, the private agent in China, reporting his proceedings. He expected to be able to despatch for the season 1700 people for British Guiana, and 300 for Trinidad.

THE SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

MR. OLMSTED proceeds South, and recounts the miseries he endured, on the way, in the absence of every thing approaching to comfort in travelling, and of attention to the wants of himself and his fellow-travellers. The following conversation took place between one of these and himself, offering an indirect but striking testimony to the truth of Mrs. H. B. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

SLAVERY DESCRIBED BY A SLAVEHOLDER.

"On the third day, just after the dinner-bell had rung, and most of the passengers had gone into the cabin, I was sitting alone on the gallery, reading a pamphlet, when a well-dressed, middle-aged man accosted me.

"Is that the book they call *Uncle Tom's Cabin* you are reading sir?"

"No, sir."

"I did not know but it was; I see that there are two or three gentlemen on board that have got it. I suppose I might have got it in New Orleans: I wish I had. Have you ever seen it, sir?"

"Yes, sir."

"I'm told it shews up Slavery in very high colours."

"Yes, sir, it shows the evils of Slavery very strongly."

"He took a chair near me, and said that, if it represented extreme cases as if they were general, it was not fair.

"Perceiving that he was disposed to discuss the matter, I said that I was a Northern man, and perhaps not very able to judge; but that I thought that a certain degree of cruelty was necessary to make slave-labour profitable, and that not many were disposed to be more severe than they thought necessary. I believe there was very little wanton cruelty.

"He answered, that Northern men were much mistaken in supposing that slaves were generally ill-treated. He was a merchant and owned a plantation, and he just wished I could see his negroes.

"Why, sir," said he, "my niggers' children

all go regularly to a Sunday-school, just the same as my own, and learn verses, and catechism, and hymns. Every one of my grown-up niggers are pious, every one of them, and members of the church. I've got an old man that can pray —well, sir : I only wish I had as good a gift at praying ! I wish you could just hear him pray. There are cases in which niggers are badly used ; but they are not common. There are brutes everywhere. You have men, at the North, who whip their wives—and they kill them, sometimes.'

"Certainly, we have, sir; there are plenty of brutes at the North ; but our law, you must remember, does not compel women to submit themselves to their power, nor refuse to receive their testimony against them. A wife, cruelly treated, can escape from her husband, and can compel him to give her subsistence, and to cease from doing her harm. A woman could defend herself against her husband's cruelty, and the law would sustain her.'

"It would not be safe to receive negroes' testimony against white people ; they would be always plotting against their masters, if you did."

"Wives are not always plotting against their husbands.'

"Husband and wife is a very different thing from master and slave.'

"Your remark, that a bad man might whip his wife, suggested an analogy, sir."

"If the law was to forbid whipping altogether, the authority of the master would end."

"And if you allow bad men to own slaves, and allow them to whip them, and deny the slave the privilege of resisting cruelty, and refuse testimony, except from those most unlikely to witness cruelty from a master, on his own plantation, to his own slave, do you not shew that you think it is necessary to permit cruelty, in order to sustain the authority of masters in general over their slaves ? That is, you establish cruelty as a necessity of slavery—do you not ?"

"No more than it is of marriage, because men may whip their wives cruelly."

"Excuse me, sir ; the law does all it can, to prevent cruelty between husband and wife ; between master and slave it does not, because it cannot, without weakening the necessary authority of the master—that is, without destroying Slavery. It is, therefore, a fair argument against Slavery, to shew how cruelly this necessity, of sustaining the authority of cruel and passionate men over their slaves, sometimes operates. Some people have thought that a similar argument lay against some of our Northern laws with regard to marriage. No one objected to the case being argued, and scores of books, some of them novels, have been written about it ; and, in consequence, these laws have been repealed, marriages have become a simple civil contract, with every relic of involuntary servitude abolished, as far as the civil law is concerned."

"He asked what it was *Uncle Tom* tried to make out."

"I narrated the Red River episode, and asked if such things could not possibly occur.

"Yes," replied he ; "but very rarely. I don't know a man, in my parish, that could

do such a thing. There are two men, though, in —, bad enough to do it, I believe ; but it isn't a likely story at all. In the first place, no coloured woman would be likely to offer any resistance, if a white man should want to seduce her.'

"After further conversation, he said that a planter had been tried for injuring one of his negroes, at the Court in the parish, the preceding summer. He had had among his girls a *favourite*, and suspecting that she was unduly kind to one of his men, under an impulse of jealousy, he mutilated him. There was not sufficient testimony to convict him ; 'but,' he said 'everybody believes he was guilty, and ought to have been punished. Nobody thinks there was any good reason for his being jealous of the boy.'

"I said this story corroborated the truthfulness of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; it shewed that it was all possible.

"Yes," he answered, "perhaps it may ; but, then, nobody would have any respect for a man that would treat his niggers cruelly."

"I wondered, as I went to dinner, and glanced at the long rows of surly faces, how many men there were there whose passions would be much restrained by the fear of losing the respect of their neighbours.

"I think very few of them would be very much controlled by such an influence ; but I should do them injustice if I neglected to add my conviction, that, as a general rule, the slaves of this rough, straight-forward pioneer class, enjoy privileges, and are less liable to severe labour or excessive punishment than the majority of those belonging to wealthy proprietors, who work on large plantations under overseers. They are less well provided for, and are more neglected in every way ; but I am inclined to think that the greatest kindness that can be done to a slave, is to neglect him, and so encourage, if not force him, to exercise some care over himself.

"My original purpose had been to go high up Red River at this time, but the long delay in the boat's leaving New Orleans, and her slow passage, obliged me to change my plans, and I went no further than Grand Ecore. It was not till the following autumn that I was able to proceed beyond there."

ANOTHER SORT OF CRAFT.

"When I returned to New Orleans, I did so by the steamboat *Dalmas*—a very pleasant and orderly boat, with very polite and obliging officers. The company of passengers was also an agreeable one, a large number of them being wealthy planters with their families, generally intelligent and somewhat cultivated people. Many were of French descent, and a few could not speak English.

"A gentleman, Northern born, who had been liberally educated in New England, and had travelled abroad, but had been some years living in Texas, observed to me, that he thought Carlyle had said the best thing for Slavery, and acknowledged himself a disciple to his views of it. He thought labour of mind and body, directed to the development of the material of man's comfort (and so to his mental and moral progress), was what was most needed of all men. The negroes in Africa were doing nothing for the world. If Slavery

should be abolished, those here would, he assumed, do nothing. As they are, they are doing much. It was best for the world that Slavery should continue, and therefore we must rest content with a rather low standard of mental attainment and moral character, which he admitted prevailed in the Slave States. It was Utopian, to ask for the same manifestation of civilization at the South that might be aimed at in a free country; but if it were not for the South and its Slavery, the aims of the Free States would be also Utopian. Moral and intellectual improvement, at the North and in Europe, was based, in a degree, on cheap cotton, and so on Slavery. Men gave more time to study and thought, because they gave less to providing themselves with shirts.

"He thought there was certainly progress and improvement at the South, and it would continue; but it was much more limited, and less calculated upon and provided for than at the North. And while the chief labour was done by slaves, and they remained a large proportion of the people, there could be no *atmosphere* of progress and improvement, as where all men were desirous and able to improve, and the interests of each were favoured by the improvement in every way of all. At the North there was a constant electric current of progress, which no man could resist being moved by. At the South, every second man was a non-conductor, and broke the chain. Individuals at the South were enterprising, but they could move only themselves.

"He had little respect for the religion which the negroes acquired in Slavery. They learned to copy the manifestations of religion of the whites in a parrot-like way, and connected these manifestations with excitements of mind and body, which were no way essentially different, or of higher nature than those which all savage tribes were accustomed to connect with their heathen worship.

"But materially they were vastly better off than savages: they were generally well provided for, and seldom suffered from hunger and cold, as savages constantly did. He thought the wild, hard Texas men made the best of masters; and the slaves were, in general, better treated in Texas than in any other part of the South.

"There were occasional exceptions, certainly. One had occurred lately near Nacogdoches. A man had tied up a slave in a fit of anger, and had drawn a live cat down his back, so she would strike her claws into his skin and tear it. The slave was seriously injured; and it having become notorious how he was injured, his master was brought to a regular trial. He had not been convicted, for want of sufficient legal evidence; but there was so great popular indignation, that he would have to move out of that region of country, to save himself from a lynching. I think he said this man's anger was also founded on jealousy.

"He sneered at any other defence of Slavery, than the utilitarian one. Every man in the world ought to work for the benefit of mankind at large, as well as himself. The negroes would not do so, unless they were forced to; and Slavery was justified by its results, not to the South, but to

the world. It was nonsense to say that Slavery was sustained for the benefit of the negro. It was unsafe, and would be uneconomical, and therefore bad for the world at large, to give the negro knowledge and to improve his intelligence. If he should be systematically instructed in matters, safe in themselves for him to be informed upon as the Bible, for instance, he would instruct himself in other matters, and would soon get beyond the control of the whites, who retained authority over him only by their superior intelligence and knowledge.

"There was no need to pretend that the negro was incapable of being greatly improved. No men improved faster under favourable circumstances. The difference between town-bred and plantation-bred slaves, in point of general intelligence, was always very striking. He had been in business intercourse for many years with a gentleman whose book-keeping and correspondence had been almost altogether carried on by a slave, and it was admirably done; his manner of expression was terse, pointed, and appropriate, and his business abilities every way admirable. His owner could not possibly have obtained more valuable services from a white clerk.

"He owned but one slave himself, and that was an old woman, whom he had bought purely from motives of compassion. He had supported her for several years, and had never received the smallest return from her labour.

"If you are right in your justification of Slavery," said I, "why not knock her on the head? She's no longer of any use to the world, only an incumbrance, using a certain amount of corn and cotton, which would otherwise go to make study cheaper, and so advance the general improvement of the world."

"Yes," he replied, laughing, "but then we can't afford to throw charity overboard."

"You throw your theory overboard in saying so, I think. To obtain cheap cotton, you would throw overboard all political morality. I think it a dear bargain."

"Would throw overboard all compromises and compacts, I might have added, when they stood in the way of greater profit from Slavery."

"But he said it was fanaticism, not morality, that would be thrown overboard. Prudence would retain Slavery, and sensible morality with it. And on this point we agreed, with great friendliness, to differ."

PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Thursday, March 3.)

THE WEST INDIES.

MR. BUXTON said, in rising to move for a Committee to inquire into the present state of the West Indies, and the best means of promoting immigration, he would first of all touch on the former part of his motion. It was very common to hear it said that emancipation had been a failure. He read, not long ago, in one of our leading periodicals, that the philanthropists had been the ruin of the West Indies. There was a floating impression in the public mind that freedom had plunged the West-Indian planters

into hopeless penury, and the negroes into a kind of voluptuous barbarism. It was not surprising that such a notion should prevail. No one could deny, that in 1847 and the ensuing years the owners of West-Indian property were thrown into a state of the utmost distress, and, of course, since Slavery was done away in 1834, and that crash fell within thirteen years afterwards, the world could not but assume that emancipation had caused the events that followed so hard upon it; the more so, because the abolition of Slavery caught the eyes of the whole people: every one bore it in mind, whereas that which really came like a thunderbolt upon the planters was much less within ken. That which really struck the planters down was the enormous fall in the price of sugar, which in 1840 was 49s per cwt. (without the duty), and in 1848 was 23s. 5d., a fall of more than one-half. He had given a long and minute study to the history of the West Indies during the last fifteen years, and the thing which had most struck him, and which could not have failed to strike any one who made the same investigation, was the close parallel between the history, during that period, of the West Indies and of Ireland. In each country the very same causes had wrought the very same effects—had brought about the same ruinous, the same rotten state of affairs. Each country was at length overtaken by a great calamity, which at the time seemed fatal. Each country—the old order of things having been swept away by that calamity—each country was now rising steadily and swiftly to a high degree of wealth. In the West Indies, just as in Ireland, but to an even greater extent, the proprietors used to be absentees; but what made that more disastrous in the case of the West Indies was, that the planter could not let his sugar estate, but was obliged to carry on the costly and precarious processes, not merely of cultivating the sugar-cane, but of manufacturing the sugar at his own cost, under his own hand, by means of agents. And so hard was it to find any man who at once understood the management of a sugar estate, who was willing to live in the West Indies, who was trustworthy, sober, and energetic—so hard was it to find such agents, that he believed, in five cases out of six, the estates were scandalously mismanaged. Those who had gone deeply into the history of the West Indies were, he believed, of one mind—that it was this, far more than any other cause, that cut the very roots of West-Indian prosperity. The absenteeism, of the planters led to a host of other evils, and as one of the most judicious observers, Mr. Bigelow, the American traveller, declared, it could not have failed some day to bring about general bankruptcy and ruin. There was another trait of West-Indian society just like that of Ireland in the days gone by. Almost without exception the sugar estates were heavily encumbered. Most of them were mortgaged far beyond their value. The owners of the estates were always struggling with an incubus of debt which they could not possibly shake off. The effect of all that was, that even when monopoly and Slavery were at their zenith,—when even the sugar of our own oriental dominions was not allowed to compete with theirs on the same level,—even then, petted as they were by the laws of England,

the West Indians were continually coming to the Government of the country with the most doleful lamentations. That state of things was the legacy which Slavery and monopoly had left behind them; and then, when the price of sugar suddenly fell to less than one-half what it had been a few years before, the effect was precisely analogous to that of the famine upon Ireland. The proprietors were thrown into deep distress. All society was unhinged. The crash was terrible. But there, as in our sister country, the consequence was, that the ownership of the soil hanged hands. It passed from those who were absentees, drowned in debt; it came into the hands of those who were for the most part resident, and free from those trammels. And now, what was the result? The result was, that although labour was still free, that although trade was still free, or rather, he would say, because labour was free, and because trade was free, the West Indies were now rising to a pitch of wealth and happiness unknown to them before. It would be impossible for him to lay before the House the immense mass of evidence which demonstrated that fact. He was assured of it by mercantile men; he found it strongly set forth in the reports from the governors of the islands, which used to be full of dismay, and were now bright with cheerfulness and hope; but the keystone of the arch consisted of the statistics furnished by the Board of Trade, which shewed that the imports and exports together of the West Indies and Guiana had amounted in the four years ending with 1853 to 32,500,000*l.*, and in the four years ending with 1857 to 37,000,000*l.*, an increase of 4,500,000*l.* in four years; and further, that the annual exports of sugar, coffee, cotton, rum, and cocoa, had greatly increased of late years. So much had been said of the ruinous state of these islands that perhaps the House would be surprised to learn that the exports from Great Britain to the West Indies in 1857 exceeded her exports, in that year, to Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Greece, the Azores, Madeira, and Morocco, all combined. Or perhaps it would give a more vivid idea of the value to us of these islands, if he mentioned that our exports to them in 1857 equalled our exports to the Channel Islands, Malta, the Ionian Islands, the Mauritius, the Gold Coast, the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and what are called our sundry possessions, all together. Considering what mere specks the West Indies look in the map of America, it was astonishing that their trade to and fro should now actually amount to 10,735,000*l.* That was the value of their commerce in the year 1857. He would only add, that in 1857 the value of the sugar imported into this country from our West Indies amounted to 5,618,000*l.* Surely all this demonstrated that free-labour was holding its own in spite of the competition of Slavery. Probably it would be said that all this was mainly due to the immigrants. In the last five years 25,000 immigrants had come to all our West Indies, including a large number of women and children. It was altogether absurd to imagine that this great prosperity was owing to the labours of those few thousand men, and, in fact, the islands which had not received immigrants were quite as flourishing as those that had.

Clearly, then, our West Indies were possessions of immense and increasing value. The Committee might inquire, however briefly, into this point, and report to the country whether it was true or not that free-labour and free-trade were bringing about a great prosperity. He was aware that this proposal would meet with strong resistance, for he had often noticed that nothing so vexed a West-Indian gentleman as to be told that he was well off. And as those gentlemen had a great and legitimate influence with the Colonial-office, no doubt the right hon. baronet opposite would appeal to the severely practical mind of this House, and would put the question, "Supposing the hon. member for Newport obtains this conclusion from the Committee, what will he do with it?" But as the people of this country laid out 20,000,000*l.* in emancipating our slaves, and as that great deed was not, as some said, the work of a few philanthropists, but was done by the whole people with all their heart and soul, it would be of some value to learn, upon the authority of a Committee of that House, what was the result of that great experiment. And if the Committee inquired at all into the state of the West Indies, he hoped they would inquire into the condition of the negroes. Interested parties described them as barbarous and idle. He found ample evidence to prove that they were living in a high degree of comfort and industry, though he admitted that they somewhat preferred working on the freeholds they had purchased, to labouring for hire. But the main topic of inquiry for the proposed Committee would be, what were the best means of promoting immigration into the West Indies. He did not propose that the Committee should inquire whether immigration be necessary or not. On that point he differed altogether from some gentlemen for whom he felt the greatest respect—namely, the Committee of the *Anti-Slavery Society*. Their views were opposed to all immigration; but, with millions of fertile acres under a tropical climate lying untilled, it would be an unmixed good if we could fill every island as full of people as Barbados itself. The greater the influx of labourers, the greater the production of wealth, and that would tell for the anti-slavery cause throughout the world; and so far from the competition of the immigrants being any bane to the negroes, it would be a wholesome spur to them. So far from denying the scarcity of labour, he could hardly conceive what supply of labour could ever meet the boundless demand for it created by such a soil in such a climate. But the time had certainly come for an inquiry into the system upon which that immigration should be carried out. The first question into which, no doubt, the Committee would inquire would be, what ground there was for the allegation so often made, that 33 per cent. of the immigrants perish. That had been stated repeatedly by gentlemen connected with the West Indies. In the Report of the Immigration Commissioners of 1857, the mortality on the voyage alone from Calcutta was reckoned at 17·26 per cent. Cases were also referred to, in one of which 40 per cent., in another 50 per cent., of the immigrants either died on board or had to be taken to the hospital on landing. Out of 2411 Coolies taken to Guiana and

Trinidad, 349 died on the voyage, and large numbers had to be taken to the hospital on landing. These, he felt convinced, were peculiar cases, and were not to be attributed to ill-usage of the immigrants, but they seemed to justify the demand for an inquiry. But so far as the voyage was concerned, out of two ships that brought immigrants from Calcutta in 1858, the mortality was 7·12 per cent. in one, and only 3·28 in the other. The inquiries of the Committee on this head, then, might probably have the very useful result of calming the indignation which had been strongly felt in many parts of the country at the supposed waste of life among immigrants. But should it prove that the mortality was large, then the Committee would inquire whether it could be lowered by further precautions on board ship, or by a stricter enforcement of those now laid down, or by increased protection to the immigrants, upon the estates. What might prove a still more important branch of inquiry was, whether a free immigration could be set on foot, under which the Coolie would not be bound to the planter who had paid for importing him, during a term of years. His anti-slavery friends had a strong feeling of the hardship to the immigrant of being thus in reality a bondsman. But if he made a contract, the law must keep him to it; and although it might be galling to him, still there were woes enough in the world without our moving heaven and earth to save him from a brief annoyance. But still the result of the system was to create a whole catalogue of what he might call artificial offences, to which penalties had to be attached. There were penalties on the planter if he did not supply medicine, nourishment, food, clothing, and due wages; penalties on those who emp'o,ed other planters' Coolies; penalties on the Coolies if they shirked their work; penalties on the Coolies if found two miles from their estates; penalties on the Coolies if they damaged their employers' property; penalties on the masters of vessels if they carried Coolies away. That cumbrous system of penal law was the substitute for the ordinary and natural system under which an employer bought the labour that he wanted and discharged the labourer who did not please him. It might be unavoidable, but he would like the Committee to examine whether a more free immigration would not be possible—an immigration that would simply bring in labourers, leaving them and the employers to make what bargains they pleased. Lastly, the Committee would inquire into the question which now awakened a vast amount of bitter feeling in the West Indies—the question by whom the cost of the immigrants should be defrayed; whether it should be defrayed wholly by the planter who used the labour of the immigrant, or in some part by the whole community. According to all the present schemes, including the last Act passed by the Jamaica House of Assembly, two-thirds of the cost was supposed to fall on the planters who received the immigrants, and the remaining one-third fell on the taxation of the whole island. It would, he thought, be easy to shew, that in reality one-half fell on the whole island. But, at any rate, the community paid one-third; and what was the

real result of that? Nothing else but that the State gave a subsidy to the planter. The planter wanted a certain amount of work done for him, but instead of paying the whole cost, as any other manufacturer would have to do, the State bountifully relieved him of one-third, or one-half the burden of paying his own workmen. The State gave him a large sum of money in order that his business might bring him in a larger profit. No wonder the planters were hot for a scheme based on such a delightful principle. No wonder they were loud against all other schemes under which each man would have to give his *quid* for his *quo*, and pay for what he got out of his own instead of out of other people's pockets. The case was exactly like that of a parish under the old Poor Law, where the farmer paid some 5s. or 6s. a week to his labourer out of his own money, eking it out by a rate on the whole parish. No two things could be more alike than that old parish system and the one adopted with regard to the West-Indian immigration. Or, again, it was just like the old bounty system. In that case, as in the other, the State gave large pecuniary aid to those engaged in certain trades, lest without such aid their trade should fall to the ground. He had not the assurance to dilate to the House on the folly and injustice of those exploded systems; but whatever might be said against them might be said with equal truth of the system by which the whole community was taxed in order to aid the planter in carrying on his business. No doubt they would be told that the sugar trade was of great value to the West Indies, and without those subsidies it would soon fall off; but was it ever found that a trade declined on the withdrawal of aid from the State? But even were that so, would that be the least reason for giving to the sugar trade an artificial prosperity? Nor could it be said, that, though unsound in principle, it was a matter of no practical importance. Those most versed in the state of Jamaica said, with one voice, that the reason why she rose so slowly, while her sister islands were rising fast, was, that her finances were in a state of disorder, that she was suffering from extreme taxation; and he was told that, with a view to this immigration scheme, additional burdens were being placed upon the flour and other articles of food consumed by the negroes themselves. In *The Times* report from the West Indies of October 2, 1858, it was mentioned that "the Government had in no way relaxed the stringency of its financial enactments, and the country was suffering greatly under the pressure of heavy taxation." Neither could it be said that, after all, in the long run the planters paid the taxes, and therefore the whole cost at last rested on their own shoulders. If that were so, why should they insist on this feature in their immigration schemes? Why should they prefer to have the money extracted from them through the painful and costly means of the tax-gatherer, instead of paying it at once by a cheque on their bankers? He had stated the main points into which he hoped the Committee would inquire, and he trusted the House would feel that they were questions worthy of investigation. He believed that if the Committee were granted—if it thoroughly and impartially examined into those points—the result

would be to place immigration into the West Indies on a sound and wholesome basis, and thus greatly to enhance the growing prosperity of the West-India islands.

Sir E. B. LYTTON.—Sir, Let me, in the first instance, express my sense of the ability and the temperance with which the hon. gentleman has introduced his motion. The bearer of his father's name enters into the discussion of all questions that affect humanity with an hereditary titled to respect. It is clear that he will preserve that heirloom without a flaw. If I question his views, I can equally honour his sincerity. I am glad this subject is openly discussed. I take it first on its broadest ground, Sir, I should be dealing unfairly towards those friends of the *Anti-Slavery Society* whose petitions have been before me if I did not assume that, on principle, they are opposed to the whole system of labour immigration which I found established in the West-India colonies. On my part, I so sympathize with zeal on behalf of the negro, even where I think those who entertain it misguided and misinformed on details, that I entreat beforehand forgiveness if, inadvertently, a single word should escape me that may seem to disparage the humanity that I hold in reverence. But I must say, frankly and firmly, that from that system of immigration I am convinced that no Minister, responsible for the welfare of the West-India colonies, can depart. Let the House listen to facts and figures, and then say I am wrong in the convictions I express. The hon. gentleman says that the prosperity of the colonies does not arise from immigration alone. No; but where immigration has been continued prosperity has followed. Sir, the experiment of Coolie immigration was first tried in the Mauritius in 1835 or 1836; it was then commenced by the planters as private importers of labour. Abuse arose; the immigration was suspended in 1838. In 1843 the Government took it into their hands, and by the Government it has since been conducted. Now hear the result. Since the experiment there have been introduced into the colony 170,000 persons: out of these, in 1856, as many as 134,291 were still residents. The effect on the produce of the colony has been this: The sugar crop in 1844 was 70,000,000 lbs.; in 1855 it amounted to 238,480,000 lbs. That has been the effect on the produce. What has been the effect on the immigrant population? Three-fourths of those immigrants who returned to India at the end of three or five years, brought back with them from 500 to 1200 rupees each; and Sir G. Anderson, who had formerly been a distinguished Judge in India, in 1850 reported his opinion in these words: "These immigrants, as a labouring population, are perhaps nowhere in the world in such favourable circumstances." But I may be told that the Mauritius is a special and singular example. Is it so? Take next British Guiana: there, about 23,000 Coolies have been introduced: they do not, as in the Mauritius, form the whole of the agricultural population, but a considerable part of it; and the sugar crop, which in 1841 was little more than 34,000 hogsheads, was, in 1855, 55,366 hogsheads. While this was the increase to the wealth of the colony, what was the benefit to the

immigrants? Judge by this instance: In a single ship which left British Guiana last year 277 Coolies paid into the hands of the Authorities for transmission to India more than 6000*l.* I will now shew you what has been the increased prosperity of the colony of Trinidad by the results of immigration. I find, in the despatch from the Government dated September 26, 1858, that the population returned by the census of 1851 was 68,600; by immigration and the influx of strangers it is now raised to about 80,000. Well, the imports of Trinidad in 1855 were 554,534*l.*, in 1857, 800,030*l.*; the exports, in 1855 were 387,999*l.*; in 1857, they were 1,013,414*l.*; and the Governor, in summing up the census of this progressive and amazing prosperity, says: "But it is to the stream of immigration which has flowed into the island during the years under review that it is mainly indebted for the progress it has achieved." Now, compare this increase of produce in colonies caused by immigration with the decline of produce in Jamaica, where immigration has been suspended. In Jamaica the produce of sugar for three years after the apprenticeship was 1,812,204 cwt., and during the last three years it has fallen off to 1,244,373 cwt. Turn next to Trinidad. There about 10,000 Coolies have been introduced. There the wages are far inferior to British Guiana; there is an immense competition for labour; and yet in the last return Coolie ship from Trinidad 343 Coolies deposited with the inspector 5*892.*, and on their persons took more than 900*l.* Now, then, I respectfully ask you who advocate the cause of humanity—who feel with me that humanity belongs exclusively to no colour and to no country—who, if you advocate the cause of the Negro, must advocate equally the cause of the Indian or Chinese—I ask you whether, when we find that more than 200,000 persons left countries in which labour was worth from 2*d.* to 3*d.* a-day, where impressment and forced labour exist, where, as was said by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, "the strong universally pressed upon the weak"—left, I say, those countries for British colonies, in which easy labour secures comparative affluence, where the labourer lives under British law, and has at all times access to a British magistrate—I ask you to say whether humanity should bid me arrest that immigration, fling these human beings back to oppression and to famine,—and why? because their labour benefits our fellow British subjects, and saves a British colony from ruin. You object to the system of indentures to a master. Just hear the answer as it is supplied to me by the Immigration Commissioners: "It has, however, been objected that the Coolie, being paid for a certain time under indenture, is in reality in a state of bondage. The answer is, that before the indenture system was established, the Coolies abandoned their work and wandered about the country, and, in many instances in the West Indies, perished miserably from disease and want." Their condition was thus described, in August 1859, by Mr. Carberry, a stipendiary magistrate in British Guiana, whose sympathies are much more with the Coolies than with the planters: "With the indentures," he says, "the immigrant becomes an useful and industrious member of society. His labour is alike profitable

to himself and his master. Without it, he too often becomes a wandering mendicant, a nuisance and disgrace to the colony, and finishes his career in the public hospital: in the interest, therefore, of the Coolie himself the indenture system is necessary." But it is said there has been great mortality on board the immigrant vessels from Calcutta. Undoubtedly there was in the years 1856-57. But it is fair, while allowing this fact, first to remind the House that the rate of mortality was taken from selected vessels, and that it may be as much accounted for from causes that do not apply to Coolie immigration alone. Take the very worst cases that occurred. In Calcutta ships the average mortality was, in the year 1856-57, a little more than 17 per cent.; but in 1847, on board the vessels that carried the Irish immigrants to America by a far shorter voyage, the mortality was much the same—about 17 per cent. Imagine what advantages would have been lost to Ireland, England, and America, if, on account of that melancholy average, the Irish exodus had been stopped. I hold here recent reports of the mortality of Coolies from inquiries instituted in India. The causes are most carefully analysed; remedies which will receive the most diligent attention are suggested. The most searching of all the inquirers, Mr. Morant, who is the inspector of gaols and prisons, thus sums up: "I am distinctly and decidedly of opinion that the great sickness and mortality of 1856-57 need not recur; that, whether exceptional or not, it can be prevented by proper care and attention, and that there is no need to prohibit the continuance of immigration on grounds either of humanity or policy." What he thus says is borne out by facts and figures; for I have here a return shewing the average of mortality on board Calcutta vessels during the whole eleven years immigration has taken place. Ninety-four ships have been sent from Calcutta to the West Indies, and the average mortality in all these years had been but 6 1-5th per cent.; while on board 31 vessels sent from Madras to the West Indies that average has been under 2 per cent.: and it will be satisfactory to the House to learn, that in the last year there has been a marked decrease in mortality, both in Calcutta and Madras ships; for whereas, in 1857-58, the mortality in the first was 13 per cent., in 1858-59 it has been only 6 1-6th per cent.; while in the Madras ships, in 1858-59, the mortality has been a seventh part of 1 per cent. Stress has been laid on the Coolie immigrants in Jamaica. In most of the petitions that have been before me it is stated to be 50 per cent. What are the facts? I find by the last return, August 1858, that the total number of Coolie immigrants since the immigration began was 4451, and that the number of those who had died, disappeared, or were unaccounted for during these thirteen years was 1597. I am told, in fact, that a number of these immigrants chose to re-emigrate to Jamaica to work at the railroad, and lost their lives by that climate; but that was their own fault. But suppose they all died in Jamaica: calculate that mortality, as taken for the thirteen years, it gives, not a per-cent-age of 50 per cent., but a per-cent-age of only 2 1-6th per cent. But taking it, as I think you ought, by calculating the average mortality

of those who had returned to India during the thirteen years, you only get about 4 per cent. And this is a specimen of the exaggeration by which honest and well-meaning men have been deceived. As to the colonies generally, we find by returns that the average mortality among the Coolies in the Mauritius is a little more than 3 per cent. In British Guiana it is under 4 per cent.; in Trinidad it is singularly low, stated at not above one-half per cent.; in Grenada it is 2 1-6th per cent. I think there is here some mistake, and I estimate the mortality as under 3 per cent. I turn, then, to the second class of argument, viz that which condemns the present system of immigration as unfair to the Creole. It is said that there is really no scarcity of hands to meet the habitual requirements of the labour-market in the West-Indian colonies; that immigration is an attempt on the part of the planters to beat down the wages of the negroes. But surely it is a sufficient answer to that assertion that the proprietors pay an extra sum to obtain elsewhere the labour which you say they can find more conveniently at home. Is that human nature? Do men do so even in the West Indies? Does Barbados do so? No. Barbados sends for no immigrants, because Barbados has a sufficient population, and that population is eminently industrious. But does the absence of immigration keep up wages? No. Wages in Barbadoes are lower than those in any of the colonies to which emigration has been admitted. Compare the average wages of Barbados even with those at Jamaica, where you say the planter wishes to drive so hard a bargain with the Creole. Wages at Barbados since emancipation have ranged at 1s. 1½d. per day to 10d. At Jamaica they have ranged from 1s. 6d. to 1s. And in colonies where immigration is admitted freely, a man, be he Creole or Indian, can obtain by task-work at least 2s. a-day. But is the immigrant a competitor for labour at less wages than are current with the native? No: it is provided that the immigrant shall receive as a minimum the current rate of wages paid to an unindentured labourer, and these wages cannot be low, if, as we have seen, they enable the Coolie to return home in a few years with what to him is affluence for the rest of his life. But it is said, "At all events, for this importation of labour the planters should pay exclusively: the population should not be taxed for the labour that competes with their own." Sir, I grant at once that the planter should pay the greater portion of this expense: that is a condition which both my predecessors and myself have kept steadfastly in view. And, according to the Jamaica Act, the planters pay two-thirds; but that is not all. The money applicable for the payment of the first immigration is the sum of 50,000*l.* remaining on the Imperial guaranteed loan of 100,000*l.* The repayment of that loan is to be effected by an export duty, and an export duty falls upon the producer, that is, the planter. But granted that a portion of the expense does fall on the general community, if the immigration conduces to its prosperity it may fairly be expected to contribute towards it. Increased civilization is always followed by increased taxation: more money is required for schools, for religious worship, for public works:

every individual in the country rises higher in the scale in proportion as it becomes more prosperous. Is it unjust to call on them to pay something towards what enriches and exalts the country? Well, Sir, then I venture to think there are really no grounds for this Committee. So far as the West Indies are concerned, there are no petitions from them demanding this inquiry, nor are there any special measures for their benefit proposed. So far as information is concerned, it is given to you every year in blue-books as numerous and as bulky as the most passionate student of blue-books could desire. And we are now printing for Parliament, papers upon nearly all the subjects to which the hon. gentleman has referred. But it must not be supposed that we shrink from inquiry. And I make the hon. gentlemen two proposals—1st. Let him wait till the papers about to be printed for the use of members are on our table: if he then wants more information, let him specify the points. If the Government cannot give them, let him have a Committee upon those: or, 2dly, if he insist on a Committee immediately, I will grant it, provided he thus defines its inquiry, viz. To inquire into the present mode of conducting immigration into the West-Indian colonies, and the best means of promoting that object. I think that is fair. But if he take my advice he will wait for information before he decides on any Committee at all. Let me say in conclusion a few words to the friends of the *Anti-Slavery Society*. I have fought by their side in my youth, and now, when I think they have been misinformed, I still believe that our object is the same, namely, to give complete success to the sublime experiment of negro emancipation. It becomes them, above all men, to do their best to render prosperous the colonies in which Slavery has been abolished. Every hundredweight of sugar produced by the immigrant at Jamaica is a hundredweight withdrawn from the market of Cuban slaves. Will Slave States follow our example, unless capital flourish under it? Can capital flourish unless it has the right to hire labour wherever labour is willing to be hired? I warn them, that if, by any indiscretion of over zeal on our part, our West-Indian colony becomes vitally injured, it is we who shall rivet the bonds of negro Slavery wherever it yet desecrates a corner of the earth.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, I rejoice to say, especially at this time of night, that I do not feel the least disposition to trespass more than a few minutes on the attention of the House; but having recently filled the situation which is now occupied by the right hon. gentleman, I feel it incumbent on me to address a few words on the present occasion. I think the House must have observed of recent years a great alteration in the mode in which colonial subjects have been treated within its walls. I, at least, can remember when no class of subjects was debated with more acrimony; indeed, it was often the favourite battle-field when domestic policy did not present any point particularly tempting for those conflicts. But a much better feeling has of late years arisen upon these questions. I am bound to acknowledge that, during the two years I had the honour to be Secretary for the Colonies, I

received from gentlemen who were opposed to me in general policy nothing but counsel and assistance. I do not recollect that a single hostile motion was made by any gentleman, and, both from my sense of duty to the Colonies, as well as the recollection of that circumstance, I trust I shall always endeavour to view colonial subjects entirely free from party bias. On the present occasion I am glad to say that I am able to express an almost complete coincidence of opinion with the right hon. gentleman. I agree in hoping that my hon. friend, who has brought forward this motion with such ability, and in a manner so becoming his name and position, will not, on the present occasion, invite the House to undertake an inquiry into the general state of the West Indies, which I am sure is unnecessary, and may be mischievous. I think [this House should be sparing of inquiries into the state of our colonies. I have never said, and I will never say, that this House should not keep a vigilant eye upon the British Colonies, as well as upon every other great interest committed to it; but I do say that very sparing interference is wise. This House may depend upon it that there is growing up in the colonies a jealousy, not only of unnecessary interference on the part of the Executive, but on the part of the Legislature itself. They think justly that they are able to manage their own concerns better than we can manage them for them. This House may depend upon it that they will best preserve the supreme authority, in the last resort, respected and revered, by exercising it only on the greatest, and not on light and unnecessary occasions. That being the case, I ask what reason can be given as to the necessity of any inquiry into the general condition of the West Indies? From my knowledge of the colonies, I have no hesitation in saying that it would be adverse to the feeling of the British West Indies. Jamaica has a great popular constitution—a great popular Legislature; and I think they will consider any inquiry into these affairs on the part of this House unnecessary. I see no good in such an inquiry, and, seeing much evil, I cannot but join with the right hon. gentleman in hoping that my hon. friend will not press that part of his motion on the present occasion. The general picture of the West Indies at this moment is extremely gratifying. There can be no doubt they have struggled through that period of distress which long weighed on them. Some are in a state of great prosperity. They are all in a state of improvement. With regard to their moral and social position, I hope the two races, black and white, are becoming amalgamated, and acting in greater harmony together. I know that black and white lawyers sit side by side as barristers in their courts of justice. I know that official situations are held by men of colour; and when I had the honour of holding the seals of the Colonial-office I always rejoiced to find a man of colour, of character, and ability, to whom I could give an appointment. If those causes are left to operate, I think the House may rely on an improved condition of the colonies, both socially and morally, being produced. The general state of things with regard to the sugar trade is very curious and interesting. I believe it is the fashion to say that

the West Indies, as sugar-producing colonies, are almost entirely ruined. But, with the exception of Jamaica, there is as much sugar produced and exported from the rest of the islands as there was in 1831, before the Emancipation Act. I say, with the exception of Jamaica, and I cannot attribute the falling off in agricultural prosperity of that island to the causes assigned by the right hon. gentleman. I believe the great, if not the sole cause, has been the unfortunate mismanagement of her own self-government, by which her finances have been ruined and her affairs confused. A wretched constitution has induced jobbing and confusion, and resulted in most disastrous consequences. I am glad to find that the foundation has been laid, by the improvement of her constitution, for a better state of things; and I trust that Jamaica will ere long resume her natural position at the head of the West-India islands. Jamaica used to send to this country 1,500,000 cwt. of sugar; now she sends not quite 500,000. But the void in her exportation has been filled up from another source. The Mauritius has taken the place of Jamaica, and now sends us about 1,500,000 cwt. In fact, wherever you find an adequate supply of labour, whether it be in the Mauritius, in Trinidad, Demerara, or Barbados, there you find the cultivation of sugar successfully conducted, and the whole community in a state of prosperity. The lesson taught by this—and I hope it will be borne in mind, not by us alone, but by the whole world—is, that the question whether free-labour can compete in a tropical climate with slave-labour depends upon the sufficiency with which that free-labour is supplied; and happily in our own colonies the experiment has worked satisfactorily. My belief is, that by encouraging by all legitimate means the introduction of free-labourers into your own sugar-producing possessions you are doing far more to put down the slave-trade and Slavery than can be accomplished by all the squadrons you may fit out and all the treaties you can devise. I should look with the utmost alarm at the carrying out of the views of the well-intentioned but mistaken men who ask as a boon for the coloured races, above all people in the world, that you should check the supply of free-labour for your own colonies. Successive Governments have carefully watched the whole system under which this immigration has been conducted, in order that the interests of humanity might not be neglected, and that, as far as could be done under a highly-artificial and complicated set of arrangements, the claims of the planter upon the Coolie should be reconciled with the right of the latter to protection in his comparatively defenceless position. One other point of great moment is, whether free-labourers can be taken from the coast of Africa and carried to our colonies. My own opinion is, that any attempt to effect this on the part of England or any other country will only end in a revival of the slave-trade in another form. Another question of importance is, whether a supply of labour is obtainable from China. No doubt, if a system of Chinese emmigration could be established under proper safeguards, it would be of great advantage to the West-India islands. But there are difficulties in the way. One of them is the alleged impossibility of insuring by

fair means the introduction into our colonies of a due proportion of Chinese women. The attention of the late Government, and doubtless that of their successors, was turned to this point; and Lord Elgin had special directions to make inquiries into it as far as his other and more pressing duties would permit. When one of the West-India islands had expressed a wish to send out an agent to China to assist in promoting the same object, every facility was offered on the part of the British Government to the mission of that officer. I will only add, that if the hon. member who has made this motion will follow the advice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and confine the proposed inquiry to the subjects to which I have referred, I have little doubt that it will be attended with useful results.

"Mr. F. CROSSLEY expressed great satisfaction at the statesmanlike speech of the Colonial Secretary, and, as one deeply interested in the abolition of Slavery, begged to tender him his best thanks. Sugar and tobacco could be grown as cheaply by free as by slave-labour. The hon. member for Newport would do well to limit his inquiry in the manner suggested by the right hon. baronet.

"Mr. C. FORTESCUE urged upon the hon. mover the propriety of accepting the first piece of advice offered to him by the Secretary for the Colonies, and of resting satisfied with the information already before the House, together with that which would speedily be produced in addition. There was no sufficient ground for the proposed inquiry, which, moreover, was not demanded by any general feeling out of doors. Exaggerated and unfounded alarms had indeed been excited by a small body of that dangerous class called philanthropists; but the free immigration of Coolies had been a great blessing to our West-Indian colonies, and the correction of any abuses in the working of the system might safely be left to the vigilance both of the Immigration Commissioners and of the Indian Government.

"Mr. C. EWIN said that Demerara had the finest soil for the cultivation of sugar, and all that the colony wanted to enable it to beat the slave-owners of Cuba was a sufficiency of labour.

"Mr. BUXTON said that he would accept the first proposal of the right hon. baronet the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He would study the papers which were about to be published, and, if they did not afford information, would renew his motion.

"The motion was then, by leave, withdrawn."

(March 11th.)

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Mr. BUXTON took that opportunity of making a personal explanation. He had stated the other night that the *Anti-Slavery Society* was opposed to all immigration, but they had since requested him to state that they are not opposed to any scheme of perfectly free immigration.

(March 18th.)

IMMIGRATION LOANS.

Mr. C. BUXTON moved an Address, for returns, up to the present date, of all loans made by the British Government, or guaranteed by it, to the several West-India colonies, British Guiana, and Mauritius, for immigration purposes; and of any amounts which the colonies

have repaid on account of such loans, distinguishing the sums loaned or guaranteed to or repaid by each colony. And of the amount each of these several colonies has voted for immigration purposes, specifying the amounts paid for importation and for back passages.

BURNING ALIVE OF TWO NEGROES.

We copy from the *Anti-Slavery Standard* the following dreadful account of the burning alive of two negroes. The first, named Milford, was the slave of a Mr. Wiley Jenkins, and the second of a Mr. S. B. Thornhill, and each murdered his master under the circumstances which are narrated. Now, admitting both were guilty, and that the conduct of their owners had been uniformly such as not to have excited feelings of revenge in their breasts, the mode in which punishment was dealt out to them lays bare the frightful state of society in the Slave States, and bears terrible testimony against the heinousness of the system upheld in them.

We would call attention to the character given to Mr. Jenkins, and contrast it with the fact of his having "whipped" Milford the day before the murder, and chained and locked him up, besides threatening to "knock him down with a lock" a few minutes before he met his dreadful fate.

"The *Union Springs* (Ala.) *Gazette*, of the 23d February, gives the following account of the murder of Mr. Wiley Jenkins by his slave, Milford, and the subsequent execution of the assassin by burning:—

"The deceased has the reputation of having, even to a fault, ever been a kind and humane master. On the day before the murder, Mr. J. had whipped this boy, Milford, or had him whipped, for some misdemeanour, and had him chained or locked up till Monday morning, when he went to him, took off his chains, and told him to 'go to the mill and go to work.' The boy made some impudent reply, when Mr. J. told him if he did not stop his insolence he would knock him down with a lock, and turned to walk away. The boy then took an axe that was lying near, and struck Mr. J. on the head and knocked him down, dropped the axe and walked away a few steps; then turned and went back, took the axe and struck him three times more on the head, and retired a short distance and sat down, making no attempt to escape.

"A public meeting of the citizens, indiscriminately, was called on Wednesday, to determine what should be done with the negro, when the proposition was made to burn him alive—every one, to the number of 200 to 300, voting for it. That evening, at eight o'clock, in the presence of 500 persons, he was chained to a tree and burned.

"Just before the fire was set, he confirmed the above statement in every particular. He stated, also, that he had determined to kill his master some time before—that his having him whipped the day before had not instigated him to the brutal deed—that he had his knife open in his pocket to do the deed when his master should

come to unfasten him, but his heart failed him; but that when he told him if he did not stop his insolence he would knock him down, he then proceeded to execute his fell purpose.

"The culprit ceased to shew any signs of life two and a half minutes from the time the torch was applied.

"On the 24th ult., Mr. Simon B. Thornhill, who resided near Troy, Mo., punished one of his negroes for misconduct. The negro then rushed on his master with a large knife and stabbed him, which caused his death in two days. The negro was taken to Troy and confined in jail. The affair caused much excitement in the county, and on Saturday a very large number of persons collected at Troy, repaired to the jail, took the murderer out, and burned him to ashes."

THE AFRICAN MOTHER.

IN our last Number we gave an affecting narrative under this head, furnished by the Rev. H. Townsend, of Abbeokuta. Our readers may be interested to learn that the poor woman, whose child so early fell a victim to the ruthless slave-trade, continued after its death to reside in the Mission-house, contented and grateful; and that she earned a comfortable maintenance for herself by carrying goods for the merchants to and from the river. Mr. Townsend's house is, he says, a little Sierra Leone, having people of five or six different languages in it.

ANTI-SLAVERY ITEM.

THE LAW OF EMANCIPATION IN TENNESSEE.—The following is a postscript of a letter just received by us from Tennessee—"I will give you a short account of a law which passed at the session of the Legislature of this State, on Emancipation, and how it is ruled by the court. In an adjoining county an able man, seeing the evil of Slavery, and his conscience, no doubt, smiting him, when about to die, made his will that one of his sons (naming him) should take his slaves (fourteen, I think,) to a free State, and emancipate them. It was brought before Chancery for certain preliminaries, whereupon the court decided that, according to the Act, it could not be done; that the law said that no slave could be taken from this to a free State and set at liberty; that they must be sold to the highest bidder for one year, to raise money to transport them to Liberia, although the son stood by to plead that he might carry the will into effect. When the son got up to ask the privilege of speaking, the Judge would not allow him to say one word; and although the will was made long before the Act passed, it could have no effect whatever. I was an eyewitness to all of the proceedings. Another law says you shall not set at liberty any slave in this State. Chivalry in high places! The tighter they pull the string, the sooner it will break.

"*OBSERVER.*"

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 1859.

TRACTS ON IMMIGRATION.

We beg to call the attention of our friends throughout the country to the publication of two tracts, on the subject of Coolie Immigration, and the Slave-trade in Chinese. The first is entitled, "A Journal of a Voyage with Coolie Emigrants, from Calcutta to Trinidad;" edited by the Rev. E. Carlile, D.D. The second is called, "The Chinese Slave-trade;" and is the experience of the Rev. Wm. De la Porte, a Missionary connected with the Free Church of Scotland, who resided many years in Swatow. The former may be had at 1½d. each, or 1s. 6d. per dozen; the latter at 2d. per dozen, and may be had on application to L. A. Chamerovzow, at 27 New Broad Street. Six of the "Journal" go by post for one penny, and thirty of the "Chinese Slave-trade." We would suggest that our friends should give them as wide a circulation as possible, especially amongst Members of Parliament and Ministers of the Gospel; and that they should also exert themselves to induce editors of provincial newspapers to insert extracts, and call attention to the subject.

MR. C. BUXTON'S MOTION.

We have received several pressing communications, from various quarters, respecting Mr. C. Buxton's motion, for the appointment of a Committee of the House of Commons, "to inquire into the present condition of the West Indies, and into the best means of promoting immigration into them." Our friends are anxious to learn whether they should get up Memorials and Petitions in support of the motion. We would not on any account discourage them from this course, as we believe some good must result from such a Committee. At the same time, we do not consider that it is framed in a manner to meet all the points on which inquiry is desirable; and as Mr. Buxton has the promise of the Colonial Minister, that, under certain restrictions, the Committee shall be granted, so that the result of his motion cannot be affected by any course the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause may take, the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* would suggest that Petitions to the House of Lords should be got up, embodying the points enumerated in the following resolution, passed at a special meeting of the Committee, held on the 18th of February last:

"That this Committee respectfully solicits Lord Brougham to take the earliest opportunity of moving for a Committee of the

House of Lords, to inquire into the condition of the West Indies, so far as regards the alleged deficiency of labour in them, and the causes thereof; and into the working of the present system of immigration in those sugar Colonies which have received immigrants, as well as into the means employed in the East Indies and China, to obtain immigrants from those countries."

It will be observed, that such a Committee would cover the entire subject; and as it would have power to examine witnesses upon oath, its results would be of the highest importance. Further suggestions will be shortly made by circulars. Lord Brougham is now at Cannes, and nothing can therefore be done in the House of Lords until his return, after the Easter holidays.

THE RESOURCES OF EASTERN AFRICA.

THERE are seasons when, owing to a variety of circumstances not in human power to control, attention is directed to particular countries and their resources, and an impetus is imparted to enterprises for developing them, which under any other conditions would not have been projected. It is remarkable how, at this present time, information is reaching us in England concerning Africa. For many years it had been, *par excellence*, the land towards which travellers and explorers have turned their steps, and from it the most important and useful information has been received that any country has furnished for a series of years. Not that the resources of the vast African continent were unknown. The Portuguese had long been aware of its indigenous wealth, and had drawn largely upon it, but they kept their information comparatively a secret to themselves. As the country whence supplies of human beings for the odious slave-trade have been drawn for upwards of three centuries, it is especially interesting to the philanthropist; and it is encouraging to find the most experienced and enlightened travellers unanimously concurring in the opinion, that the slave-trade is to be easier suppressed through the influence of legitimate trade, than by employing an armed force, however vigilant. But although for a long period antecedent to the present time Africa has held an uppermost place in men's minds, at no previous period of her history have so many remarkable events occurred which were calculated to render her conspicuous amongst nations. It is no disparagement of the discoveries of the earlier adventurers into this remarkable country, whose courageous explorations paved the way for more recent expeditions, that their original objects were less practical than those of their successors. To push geographical investigation to its utmost limit, and to furnish information bearing on the customs and habits of

a people respecting whom nothing positive was known, were primary considerations. Commerce had not then cast its covetous eye so far abroad, nor had men ascertained its potency as a civilizing agent, as they have done in later times; hence the claims of Science held the first place in the minds of these earlier travellers, whereas their successors place Science on the same level as Commerce, if even they do not give the latter the first place. It is not surprising, therefore, that of late years the enterprising men who have explored the hitherto hidden parts of the African continent should have directed their attention to ascertaining the extent of its resources, and to offering suggestions for opening a new highway for civilization and the arts of peace, through the medium of commerce, across a country which has for so long traded principally only in its own children.

It was to be anticipated that, as one result of the efforts made to extinguish Slavery and the slave-trade, the development of the indigenous resources of a country like Africa would strike the practical philanthropist as one of the most effectual means of accomplishing these objects. There is an obvious inconsistency—not to speak of the cruelty of the thing—in forcibly removing men from the land of their birth, to raise, as slaves in other countries, the very products which are indigenous in their own: and the remark applies with equal force to the exportation of men as "immigrants." Africa alone is capable of producing cotton and sugar enough to supply the world. Already, one limited district—Abbeokuta and its vicinity—sends to Manchester a quantity of cotton of excellent quality; which proves that only due encouragement and facilities are requisite to stimulate production to any extent. Indeed, the single effort of one man, Mr. T. Clegg, of Manchester, has shewn that native African industry needs but the ordinary stimulus of commercial demand to bring it into competition with the forced labour of the American cotton-growing States, and that under it, should the consumption of free-grown African cotton augment, within the next five years, in the same ratio as it has done during the last three, the supply will equal the whole of our actual importations from America. This is a great and an encouraging fact, due in the first place to the increasing requirements of commerce in this particular direction, and in the second to the jealousy of commercial enterprise, which, realizing the danger of depending upon one source for the supply of the raw staple, has sought for and discovered another.

In like manner, the enormous demand which has sprung up of late years for palm-oil, ground-nuts, and other similar oleaginous products, has imparted a wonderful stimulus to this branch of native industry; and

wherever this has been the case, the suppression of the abominable traffic in men has followed as a legitimate consequence.

The illustrious missionary Livingstone has recently shewn how hopeful is the prospect of throwing open the East Coast of Africa to legitimate trade; and we have now to call attention to a remarkable letter which Mr. J. Lyons MacLeod, late H.M.'s Consul for Mozambique, has addressed to the Earl of Malmesbury, by request, on the political and commercial importance of the same part of that vast continent.

As philanthropists, it is not our province to dwell upon the political considerations urged by Mr. Consul MacLeod, in support of his suggestion for Government to establish a floating consulate from Natal to Suez, including Madagascar, so that the entire range of coast between these points should be under his constant supervision: we may, notwithstanding, admit their great importance. On the other hand, as his primary object in directing the attention of the Government to the vast commercial resources of this part of the continent, is to supplant the slave-trade by a legitimate traffic in indigenous products of great value, we feel called upon to support Mr. MacLeod's views, and we hope that the Foreign Minister may be induced to carry out his suggestions.

Mr. MacLeod's letter is so complete, that to furnish even copious extracts from it, would be to impair the value of the whole. He has proceeded upon a comprehensive plan, and has not left a place unnoticed that is worth the trouble of a passing comment, and that presents any opening for British trade. He shews that abundance of the valuable orchilla weed—extensively used in dyeing—pearls, gold, silver, copper, iron, coal, indigo, dye roots and nuts, cinchona bark, sesame—a seed from which an oil equal to olive oil is expressed—ebony, gums, cocoa-nut oil, ground-nuts, wax, skins of all kinds, malachite, ivory, rhinoceros horns, castor-oil, coir, arrow-root, sago, coffee, tortoiseshell, cotton, silk, gutta-percha and india-rubber, rice, spices, drugs of every kind, as well as various sorts of valuable furniture woods, hides, bullocks, horses, camels, salt beef, oil from the joints of camels and from other animals, musk, ostrich feathers, hoofs, linseed, cowries, sugar, sheep, wool, ship-building timber, tallow, and, in fact, every variety of products which a bountiful Nature can yield are to be obtained on the East Coast, if proper means be employed to induce the natives to barter them, instead of slaves, for our manufactures. He also shews that the Americans, Germans, French, and Portuguese are rapidly taking advantage of these native markets, which include Madagascar; and that one Hamburg house alone sends annually fourteen vessels to Zanzibar for cargoes of cowries, with which they proceed to the West Coast to purchase

palm-oil. He alleges that the slave-trade proper is rife on the East Coast to a most deplorable extent, and that the French immigration scheme—recently prohibited from that part of Africa by the French Government—has given a great impetus to the internal slave-traffic. Yet, from statistics which he quotes, he proves how easy it would be to divert this injurious trade in men into the healthier channels of legitimate commerce, and thus not only accomplish the work which our cruisers have failed to do, but open a way for the introduction into Eastern Africa of the arts of peace and civilized life, which are already producing their influence on the West Coast, wherever they have had a fair chance of development.

Mr. Consul MacLeod's letter is a most valuable supplement to the work of the Rev. Dr. Livingstone, and possesses the great merit of submitting the information with which it abounds in a manner that is calculated to carry conviction to every unprejudiced mind.

THE "EDINBURGH REVIEW" AND LIBERIA.

In our January Number we published a letter from the Rev. H. R. Scott, refuting, on his own experience and authority, the statements which had appeared in the October Number of the *Edinburgh Review*, attacking Ex-President Roberts, of Liberia, and the Republic itself, as guilty, the one of slave-trading, the other of favouring it. The Ex-President has just addressed a letter to the Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, refuting the calumny; and as we have had some share in vindicating him from the allegations in question, we have been requested to give publicity to his formal denial, which we do with much pleasure.

"*Monrovia, Liberia, January 5, 1859.*
"To the Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*.

"SIR—Through the kindness of a friend in England, my attention has been called to an article entitled 'The Slave-trade in 1858,' published in your valuable journal, No. 220 (October last), in which, through misinformation, doubtless, you say many hard things respecting colonization and Liberia, and with them you have coupled my name in a manner no less unjust than unfavourable to my reputation.

"It is not my present purpose, Sir, to controvert your opinions respecting the motives you attribute to the supporters of the *American Colonization Society*, or to endeavour to change the unfavourable impression you seem to entertain in reference to Liberia. Though greatly mistaken in the views you take, both of colonization and Liberia, I doubt not you are sincere in your convictions.

"No subject or enterprise, in consequence of man's imperfect judgment, can hope to receive universal favour; yet the opinions of men, though as opposite as antipodes, may be equally honest

and conscientious. I have, therefore, no good reason to suppose that to sustain your views of colonization and of Liberia you would intentionally sacrifice unjustly the character of any man; and under this conviction I appeal to you, Sir, to do me the justice of making public, through the medium of your widely-circulated journal, my unreserved and absolute denial of the allegations of complicity in the slave-trade with which I am there charged. Though an humble individual, and connected with a despised and down-trodden race, believe me, Sir, my good reputation is as dear to me as that of any man of any other race.

"In your remarks on Liberia, in the article referred to, viz. 'The Slave-trade in 1858,' you revive, in reference to me, a most cruel and malicious slander, originated and published by Dr. Bacon in the *New-York Day Book*, July 1843. You say there that 'He,' Dr. Bacon, in 1837, 'found Roberts, now known as the late President of the Republic of Liberia, acting as the agent and factor of the great slave-trader Pedro Blanco.' 'Roberts was employed in purchasing condemned vessels at Sierra Leone, for Blanco's use as slavers.' 'We have not space for the details of the scheme by which condemned vessels at Sierra Leone—which could not be purchased by the English agent of Pedro Blanco, nor by Spaniards, in person—were bought by Roberts, removed under the American or the Liberian flag, and subsequently transferred, through a third person to Blanco, at his great establishment at Gallinas.' 'Dr. Bacon kept his eye on one vessel—the slave schooner, which Roberts christened the *Monrovia*, and which, after lying idle till attention was supposed to be diverted from it, was laden with slaves from Gallinas for Havana, where she arrived under another name.'

"Now, Sir, this is all very specious indeed, but, believe me, the whole story of slave-trade complicity on my part with Pedro Blanco, or any other slave-trader, is wholly false. I never in my life saw or had the slightest correspondence with Pedro Blanco, or any one else in his name or behalf. I never visited Pedro Blanco's slave establishment, or any other, except for the purpose of demolishing it. I never, in *any respect whatever*, acted as agent or factor for Pedro Blanco, or any other slave-trader. I was never employed in purchasing condemned vessels at Sierra Leone or elsewhere, for the use of Blanco or any other slave-trader. I did purchase at Sierra Leone—I think, in 1837, and the only purchase of a vessel I was ever concerned in at that place—a schooner for the trading firm of which I was a partner, to supply the place of one we had, a few weeks before, lost by shipwreck, and which newly-purchased schooner we 'christened the *Monrovia*', and had her employed for some time in the coasting trade, when it was concluded to sell her, and procure another better suited to our purpose. She was accordingly sold to a gentleman, as far as we knew, wholly unconnected with the slave-trade.

Subsequently, however, this said vessel, without any agency whatever on my part, fell into the hands, I believe, of Pedro Blanco. Whether or no she conveyed slaves to the Havana, I positively have no knowledge.

"Thus, Sir, in plain, undisguised language, and in as few words as possible, I have stated what I beg to offer in vindication of my reputation from cruel calumnies which have been circulated concerning me. If you will be good enough to give this statement a place in your extensively-read journal, you will confer a favour on one who knows of no period in his life when for a single moment his decided abhorrence of the slave-trade has suffered the slightest abatement,

"And that one is,

"Your obedient, humble servant,

"(Signed) J. J. ROBERTS."

"We, the undersigned, do hereby certify that we have known J. J. Roberts, whose name appears to the above, from the date opposite our respective names, and from that time to the present we have no knowledge of any complicity on his part in the slave-trade. And we do further certify that, to the best of our belief, the accompanying statement, above, his name, entitled to full and implicit credit.

March, 1829. STEPHEN A. BENSON,
President of the Rep. of Liberia.

January, 1827. BEVERLAY P. YATES,
V.-P. of the Rep. of Liberia.

March, 1829. J. H. CHAVERS,
Secretary of the Treasury

October, 1834. FRANCIS BURNS,
Bp. of Meth. Episc. Ch. Liberia.

October, 1828. JOHN DAY,
Chief Justice of Liberia.

October, 1834. JOHN SEYS,
U.-S. Agent for Lib. Africans.

February, 1829. JOHN H. CHEESEMAN,
Judge of Court of P. & G. Session.

January, 1833. J. S. SMITH, M.D.,
Senator of Rep. of Liberia.

March, 1829. D. B. WARNER,
Ex-Sec. of State of Rep. of Lib.

January, 1833. HENRY W. DENNIS,
M. of H. of Rep. R. of Lib.

March, 1829. SAMUEL F. W. GILL, M.D.,
Ex-Governor, Cape Palmas.

January, 1831. ANTHONY W. GARDNER,
Speaker, H. of Rep. of R. of Lib.

March, 1826. JOHN H. PAXTON,
M. of H. of Rep. of R. of Liberia.

January, 1836. GEORGE MOORE,
Treasurer of the Republic of Lib.

September, 1832. THOMAS MOORE,
M. of H. of Rep. of R. of Lib.

September, 1824. B. R. WILSON,
Minister of Meth. Episc. Church.

February, 1829. JOHN T. RICHARDSON,
Chaplain of Senate of R. of Lib."

IMMIGRATION SCHEMES AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE SLAVE-TRADE.

UNDER the above heading, the *Economist* of the 29th of January contained an article which we take the opportunity of recording in our columns, with the reply which was addressed to the Editor, and which was inserted in the Number of the 12th of February. The entire question of immigration is so important, that it is necessary our friends should be kept posted upon the subject, and be enabled to meet the arguments of the advocates of the system by authoritative counter-statements.

(From the "Economist" of the 29th of Jan.)

"The body of philanthropists who waited on Sir E. B. Lytton on Monday last, in order to call his attention to the dangers attending the new Bill of the Jamaica Legislature, for promoting the immigration of free labourers from China, India, and Africa, under labour contracts for a term of years, might effect far more if they would consent to limit their efforts to one or two definite points clearly within the scope of public criticism. They do not define with sufficient clearness the legitimate aims of their agitation. They have not sufficiently distinguished between the question, 'What dangers are there in any immigration scheme which are entirely beyond the control of the Government which superintends the immigration?' and the question, 'What guarantees can any such Government take against abuses arising in the management of such transactions by their own agents?' Yet these questions are, in truth, entirely distinct, and the distinction is so broad and so important as to demand two quite different classes of precautions against the two distinct classes of risks. The deputation have apparently allowed these two different sets of dangers to influence their minds, without any attempt to distinguish those which may be avoided from those which cannot, and so to bias them against colonial immigration schemes altogether. If they would only refer those dangers strictly to the two different classes we have indicated—those which are quite beyond the reach of any precautions on the part of the labour-importing State, and those which are with the reach of such precautions—they would, we think, produce a more vivid impression on the public mind, and do more to expose both the shameful modern disguises of the slave-trade, and the abuses to which long labour contracts with labourers of inferior races are liable, than they can ever effect while they fail to discriminate between evils so essentially different in their origin. We are quite sensible of the very great risks which may arise from both sources: we only demand that they shall be carefully distinguished, and separately discussed.

"In the first place, then, there are evils connected with all colonial immigration schemes over which the importing State has no kind of control; and which inevitably promote, in certain cases, a disguised slave-trade, whatever be the intention and however scrupulous the arrangements of the Government by which the immigrants are sought. If, for instance, such

immigrants be sought on the Coast of Africa, no precautions can prevent the immediate rise of a slave-trade, simply because the labourer there is in too helpless and degraded a condition to make his own terms with the foreigner; while the chance of gain held out to the native chiefs ensures any amount of violence in order to supply the demand. No extent of vigilance on the part of the contracting Government can sift the antecedent processes by which the labourers are procured for their ships; and, therefore, in all countries where the social state is such as to render supplies of labourers by violent means possible and profitable, the contract should be interdicted altogether. This is the principle applicable to that French immigration scheme, so actively carried on on the East Coast of Africa, which has led to the disgraceful conduct of France to Portugal. England and Portugal have again and again pointed out that no stringency in the French provisions can affect any link in the series of events *antecedent* to the embarkation of the 'free' immigrants on board the French ships; while it is exactly in the events which precede the embarkation that all the evils and all the iniquity of the slave-trade arise. The chiefs of the African tribes, aware that they will be well recompensed as 'agents' for procuring labourers, devote themselves to armed expeditions for the purpose of making captives, whom they afterwards compel to call themselves voluntary emigrants. Thus all the peaceful labour of the neighbourhood is utterly disorganized and annihilated. Terror spreads far and wide, and incipient civilization is checked at once. Experience has proved that in Africa this is the *inevitable* result of any contracts with foreigners for the supply of labourers at all. In the recent infamous case of the *Charles et Georges*, the French Government protested, with well-simulated indignation, that the 110 negroes found on board, even if they were not free before, were all free men from the very first moment they stepped on a French deck—free, that is, for any purpose except that of going away again or declining to fulfil their involuntary contract. But, unfortunately, they could not shew that the transactions which led to their presence on board differed in any thing from the most shameless form of the slave-trade. It must be admitted at once, then, that there are political conditions under which it is absolutely impossible to contract for the export of labour without giving rise to a slave-trade. If the bargain can be made directly with the labourer himself, there need be no fear of this. If the labourer be in too degraded and too isolated a condition to be independent,—and if, at the same time, the produce of his local labour be not nearly so profitable to his superiors in his native land, as the transfer of his labour to other countries,—then a local slave-trade must inevitably result from any systematic effort to contract for immigrant labourers.

But these conditions do not apply to the labour markets of China and Hindostan. The Chinese and the Hindoo Coolies constitute, in their own countries, a class quite too large and formidable, and too much within the circle of law and civilization, to fear any violence of the kind, which in Africa is the inevitable conse-

quence of a foreign demand for labourers. It would be as easy to start a slave-trade on the coast of Italy and Spain, as to start a colonial slave-trade in China and India. There is no danger there antecedent to the contract: all the dangers of abuse arise subsequently to the contract, and in relation only to the just performance of the letter and the spirit of the contract. Here, then, we are on quite different ground. We do not underrate the danger. But we do say the danger is one which may easily be diminished, and more or less guarded against, by stringent Government provisions. What happens within the circle of British authority may be provided for by the vigilance of British authority. The risk is one different in kind from that which arises in the intrinsic state of a barbarous nation to which a new incentive for violence and fraud is given, by the proposal of a premium on the exportation of labourers. Abuses on board British ships, and within the limits of British colonies, may, more or less, be removed by British justice and benevolence. And where the danger lies here, and here only, we say the aim and object of all philanthropic agitation ought to be, to take guarantees against such abuses,—whereas, in the former case, the only guarantee possible, is to put an end at once to all motive for the crime, by ceasing to negotiate with the barbarous tribes of Africa for labourers altogether.

All experience, indeed, seems to us to prove that the deputation which waited upon Sir E. B. Lytton exaggerated the difficulties which beset any efficient guarantee against the abuses to which a Coolie and Chinese immigration are liable, and underrated the actual need of our West-Indian colonies for labour of this description. In the Island of Trinidad, only two years ago, out of 14,000 agricultural labourers, no less than 7927 were immigrants from India and China; and we have no doubt, from the evidence of Trinidad residents of the highest respectability, that the Chinese immigration was, on the whole, highly beneficial to the Chinese immigrants themselves, many of whom purchased, within three or four years, the unexpired term of their indentures, and set up as thriving shopkeepers. In twelve years, between 1845 and 1857, of 11,458 Chinese and Coolie immigrants into Trinidad, 6278 had either been returned, according to agreement, to their native land, or were residing after the expiration of their labour contracts as voluntary residents in Trinidad,—a fact which shews that these immigration schemes need not encroach on the liberty of the immigrant—that they may be subjected to conditions, in the case of such races as the Chinese and the Indian Coolies, which will efficiently protect the interests of the immigrants.

At all events, the two cases are entirely distinct in principle. In Africa, the main evils caused by the immigration contracts are wholly beyond the control of our Government; and all philanthropic effort ought to be devoted to the utter prohibition of the attempt to procure immigrants there. In China and Hindostan, the abuses arise only after the labourers are within the jurisdiction of English authority, and philanthropic effort might most efficiently be limited to devising or enforcing proper guarantees against them.

REPLY.

(From the "Economist" of the 12th of February.)

"SIR,—I solicit permission to offer a few comments upon the leading article on the subject of immigration, which appeared in the *Economist* of the 29th ult., and though our views do not appear to coincide, I am encouraged to believe they do not widely differ. The Anti-Slavery Party is indebted to you for reducing the discussion to conveniently narrow limits, and by confining myself to the two classes of objections to which you admit immigration is open, I trust not to encroach too much on your valuable space.

" You are in error in alleging that we 'have not sufficiently distinguished between the sets of dangers that are entirely beyond the control of a Government, and those which may be avoided.' The accompanying copy of the Memorial which was presented to Sir E. B. Lytton, marked in Appendix II., shews that our objections embrace each class of 'dangers.' The only point on which we differ from you is in asserting that both are quite beyond Government control. Now, if we can establish this point, you will be constrained to oppose the present system of immigration, because you lay down the principle that 'the contract should be interdicted altogether,' in all cases where supplies of labourers are obtained by violent means. We are agreed on the subject of African immigration. It is admitted on all hands that 'free negroes' are not to be obtained as emigrants on any part of the African coast, and that any attempt to procure them produces precisely the same results as a demand for slaves for the Cuban market. But you allege that the same objections do not apply to emigration from India and China. On this point we are at issue.

" That the social condition of the class of Indians and Chinese who constitute the emigrant body, is not the same as that of the native African, must be at once conceded; but that there is no danger of abuse antecedent to the contract, is an assertion to be disproved by a reference to the bulky volumes on immigration which have from time to time been laid before Parliament, and from which—did your space permit—I could furnish you with any number of extracts. I am prepared to shew, from these documents, that fraud, misrepresentation, and actual violence are the constituent elements of the immigration system, even as it is now conducted, and that no vigilance on the part of the Government which superintends its prosecution can prevent the abuses incidental to it. The jurisdiction and authority of the Government agents do not come into effect until the 'immigrants' have signed their contracts. The native crimps and Coolie brokers take especial care to keep the authorities in the dark as to the means employed to induce the emigrants to 'sell themselves'—as the Indians and Chinese designate this species of engagement—but there is competent evidence in existence to prove that the whole transaction resolves itself into an actual traffic in men and women. In China, especially, this is notoriously the case, and I refer you to Sir John Bowring's despatches on 'Immigration from China' for the fullest revelations. I need only add, that he designates the Chinese Coolie traffic as being in every essential particular 'as bad as the African slave-

trade,' and that he recommends its entire prohibition. So much for the first class of objections.

" You are of opinion that stringent Government provisions may easily diminish the abuses on board of British ships, and within the limits of British colonies. I believe the regulations of the Passenger Act are sufficiently stringent to meet any contingency. It is also notorious that the space allowed to each Coolie on board of British vessels is larger than is given to those exported in French ships. Nevertheless, the mortality during the sea voyage is so great, that the Emigration Commissioners declare 'these results to be shocking to humanity, and disgraceful to the manner in which the traffic is carried on.' I beg to call your especial attention to the term 'traffic,' and to refer you for particulars of the mortality to the Emigration Commissioners' Report for 1858. They may be briefly summarized. During the season 1856-57 the deaths at sea amounted to 17.26 per cent. on 4094 Coolies shipped from Calcutta—a rate which, if computed for the whole year, instead of 90 days, the term of the voyage, would average upwards of 70 per cent. The rate of mortality on shipments of Chinese bound to British Guiana, varied from 14 per cent. to 50, as shewn from Parliamentary Paper 511, on Chinese Emigration, presented last session. On shipments of Chinese bound to Havana—on board British vessels—the death-rate fluctuated between 20 per cent. and 60. Yet, Sir, immigration is said, by its advocates, to be now conducted upon an improved system.

" We come now to the treatment of the Coolie, as soon as he is discharged from the ship. There is no official evidence, that I am yet aware of, to shew what abuses of authority he is subjected to; but the Jamaica Immigration Bill, now awaiting the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, proves that the imported labourer is, during his term of service, subject to conditions quite incompatible with a system of free labour; and the same remark applies to other colonies. That the 'immigrants' are liable to ill-usage and neglect, may be gathered from the reports of travellers who have seen them in every stage of destitution and misery; and that they are peculiarly affected by the kind of service they contract to render, and by climate, is sufficiently proved by the awful mortality during industrial residence, which we are assured the Immigration Agent General's return for Jamaica shew to be equal to 50 per cent. Sir E. B. Lytton admits it to be 33 per cent. But if we accept his correction—which I confess I am not prepared to do without knowing on what evidence he makes it—I maintain that even this death-rate establishes the startling fact, that Coolie labour in Jamaica is proportionately more destructive to human life than slave labour in Cuba.

" I have, Sir, endeavoured to shew that our opposition to immigration is in accordance with the principles you have yourself laid down; but other considerations materially influence our judgment. We object to it, because we are in a position to affirm, that there is an excess of labour, and therefore immigration is not required; because it is most unfair to tax the enfranchised negroes, to meet a very large proportion of the cost of importing labour to compete with their

own; because this competition is on unequal terms, the immigrants having advantages secured to them which are equivalent to a considerable augmentation of the rate of wages paid to the Creoles; because the presence of hordes of pagans and idolaters introduces a vitiating, demoralizing element into the community; and because the system involves a gross violation of the fundamental principles of political economy, by infringing the law which regulates the labour market in all free countries. If you should favour me by inserting this communication, I will take another opportunity of establishing these assertions, especially the latter, which seriously affects the interests of the consumer of tropical products.

" I am, Sir,

" Yours very obediently,

" L. A. CHAMEROVZOW.

" 27 New Broad Street, E.C., Feb. 2, 1859."

A TRUE STORY OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

(Communicated.)

In nothing is the declaration of Solomon more true, "There is nothing new under the sun," than in the incidents of negro Slavery; and in the following narrative there will be perceived only an additional illustration of its unmitigated cruelties, and the ordinary incitements to escape them. But as the woes and sufferings of our fellow-creatures are apt to be forgotten in the rapid succession of events, we need still to be reminded to "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them, and them that suffer adversity as being ourselves also in the body," Heb. xiii. 3; not arguing away the applicability of this portion of New-Testament obligation as inapplicable to cases like the present, because it then probably referred to the persecution of the early Christians, or to the kind of bondage sanctioned by the Roman laws. Oppression in all ages is the same in root and motive—the lust and abuse of power: its various phases constitute no difference.

" A moving incident came to our knowledge last week, which we lay before our readers. We suppress names for reasons obvious to every one. Near Louisville, Kentucky, lives a planter of wealth and standing. He was the possessor of a hundred negroes, and he was noted for his thrifty, money-making disposition. He had never been married, and was an incorrigible bachelor of fifty. His house was managed by a young lady of about twenty, his daughter by a quadroon, whose complexion was lighter by half than his, and in whom the negro blood was scarcely visible. The mother died ten years ago, leaving her daughter with the father's solemn promise that she should be educated and should live as a free woman rather than as a slave, and that she should pass as his daughter, as she was. The planter gave this promise, because he had been really attached to the dying woman, and was greatly attached to his beautiful child. And so she grew up, radiantly beautiful, receiving a rea-

sonable education—all that her father could give her,—and in time took the management of his household. She never knew that there was any negro blood in her veins, and never dreamed that she was a slave. Last fall a series of misfortunes overtook the planter. His house was burnt down, and in it the notes, books, and papers that composed a large portion of his fortune. His crops failed to a great degree, and some heavy speculations in which he was engaged resulted disastrously. Added to all this, he had lost heavily at play, the besetting sin of Southern gentlemen, and had completely exhausted all his ready means, and found himself in the terrible situation of having more money to pay than he could possibly raise in a given time. He applied to his attorney for counsel in his extremity. The attorney, after examining the situation of his affairs, advised him to sell off a portion of his negroes. The planter objected strenuously; first objecting to the sale of negroes; and, secondly, that his force was barely sufficient to work his plantation. But, after full deliberation, he found this to be the only alternative, and sorrowfully consented. A list was made out, and every head that could be possibly spared was put down. After all was done, and the most favourable prices estimated for them, the aggregate fell 5000 dollars short of the sum. The attorney remarked quietly that he had not included all that could be spared. ‘I have put down all that I can dispense with,’ replied the planter. ‘I do not see Mary, the housekeeper’s, name in the list,’ replied the lawyer. ‘She, if offered to the right person, would make up the deficiency. I would give that for her myself.’ At any other time the planter would have taken the suggestion as an insult, but necessity is a hard master, and he grasped at the idea, and, before an hour, the transaction was closed. It troubled him not a little to disclose the matter to her, but the fear of bankruptcy and ruin drove him to it. The poor girl’s horror and distress may be imagined. She had known nothing but happiness, and now was to be plunged into the deepest and most hopeless misery. She had been sold, and was then the property, soul and body, of one who purchased her merely for the gratification of his beastly lusts. The idea was too horrible, and she swooned, and remained almost delirious for several days. There was another upon whom the intelligence came with a crushing weight. A junior partner in a produce house in Louisville had frequently visited the planter’s house on business, and, struck with the beauty and intelligence of the supposed daughter, had become enamoured, and, after prosecuting his suit a proper time, had declared his passion, and, unknown to the father, the two had betrothed themselves. As soon as possible after her father had told her her fate, she despatched a messenger to him, stating the facts, and imploring him to save her from the doom that awaited her. Though thunderstruck at the intelligence that his affianced bride was a slave, and had just been sold to a fate worse than death, like a true man he determined to rescue her. That night he saw her, and a plan was formed for flight. The day she was transferred to the possession of her purchaser, they fled, and in due time arrived at Cincinnati, where they were married. Our hero obtained an interview

with one of the agents of the Underground Railroad located in that city, who immediately telegraphed instructions to the different agents along the line to keep strict watch, and, if woman-catchers were on the watch at any point, to telegraph back, and give the fugitives timely notice, that they might leave the train. Accordingly they started, purchasing tickets for Crestline. In the mean time the lawyer, as soon as he discovered his loss, had commenced active measures to recover it. He had no difficulty in tracing them to Cincinnati, and none whatever in ascertaining that their destination was Crestline. But having arrived several hours after their departure, he was obliged to content himself with telegraphing to Crestline, to the proper officers, to arrest them at that place. But unfortunately for his prospects, the intended arrest got wind, and when the train reached Galion, two citizens of that place stepped into the car, and a conversation of a few moments ensued in the lowest kind of whispers, at the close of which the four left the car. A carriage was in waiting, and in two hours the fair fugitive and her husband were domiciled in the house of one of our whole-souled farmers, near Bucyrus, who has long taken pleasure in helping fugitives on their way to the Canadian Canaan. When the train in which they embarked reached Crestline, the officials were unutterably chagrined at not finding the fugitives, and more so when they learned that they had been within four miles of them. After a lapse of two weeks they ventured a move, and went to Detroit by the way of Sandusky city, and, without accident, reached the Canadian shore. They are now residing in Toronto.”—*Bucyrus (Ky.) Journal.*

A RESULT OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

We have received the following communication, to which we would direct the attention of our friends. We shall be glad to act as Treasurer in this case, and any subscriptions towards the object may be sent by Post-office Order, made payable to Louis Alexis Chamerovzow, Post-office, Bishops-gate Street Within, E. C.

— “Oberlin College, Ohio, U. S., Feb. 17, 1859.

“DEAR SIR—You have probably seen in some of the American papers an account of the rescue of a slave from his captors by some of the inhabitants of Oberlin, assisted by other humane persons in the neighbourhood. But lest you should be unacquainted with the circumstances, I will state them as concisely as I can. The facts are briefly these. In September last, a fugitive slave residing in this town, named John Price, was called upon by a lad of the name of Boynton, the son of a farmer in this vicinity, with a request from his father that Price would repair to a certain part of his farm and dig potatoes. This he agreed to do, and immediately started for the place appointed. On his arrival he was seized by two men, bound, and placed in a carriage, which was driven rapidly over an unfrequented road towards the nearest railroad station, they

expecting to take the cars for the south. A man from this village met them, and, seeing a coloured man secured between two white ones, instantly divined the truth. He quickly gave the alarm, and a large number of the Oberlin people and students followed in rapid pursuit, overhauled the kidnappers at a place called Wellington, about nine miles off, and, in conjunction with some of the inhabitants, succeeded in rescuing the negro without bloodshed or violence, and brought him back in triumph to Oberlin, from whence he soon departed for Canada. Prominent in this humane transaction were three Englishmen and a Scotchman: three of the four are students in the college, the other a married man with a family. These four British subjects, together with thirty-three others engaged in the affair, are now arraigned by the Federal Government of the United States under a charge of violating the Fugitive Slave Law, and are awaiting their trial, which takes place in March (next month). When I mention that one of the grand jury was the very man who sent his son to decoy the negro, and that no petit juror will be allowed to try these prisoners who will not first swear that he is not opposed to this iniquitous Fugitive Slave Law, you will judge how much favour these culprits have a right to expect. And now I come to the object I have in view in writing this letter, and which is, to solicit from the friends of the slave in Great Britain some pecuniary assistance, to enable these subjects of Her Majesty to meet the expenses necessary to defend themselves against this indictment. The individuals in question are men whose means are very limited, and though the sum required will be comparatively small, they are entirely unable to meet the necessary expenses. I ought to add, that one of the young Englishman was a few weeks since seized by a deputy-marshal in the midst of his scholars (he was absent from here teaching a district school for the winter), handcuffed, though he made no resistance, and conveyed fourteen miles to Columbus, where he was consigned to a loathsome prison, and kept eighteen hours without food. His companions were the very lowest dregs of society. The next day he was taken nearly 200 miles to Cleveland, to appear before the judge, and then liberated *on his own recognizance*.

"Though for nearly twenty years I have been Secretary to this college, I am, in every sense of the word, an Englishman; and such outrages as those I have recorded, and one more I have yet to mention, do not wean me from my devotion to my native country. The other outrage I allude to is this—about two weeks ago a slave was *burnt alive* in Kentucky, within sight of Ohio. This is the third case of the kind in Kentucky within a few months. Is there any other civilized or half-civilized country in the world where criminals are burnt alive?

"Oberlin is well known in England as a thorough Anti-Slavery institution. Here 'the coloured man'

is educated on a perfect equality with the white. No fugitive slave has ever yet been taken back to bondage from Oberlin, notwithstanding we have a pretty numerous population of that sort, and notwithstanding also, that many attempts have been made to that end. We intend, as God shall give us the ability, to maintain this 'proud pre-eminence.' The penalty incurred by violating the Fugitive Slave Law is six months imprisonment and a fine of 1000 dollars. In the case of these students the fine will be remitted, but I expect they will have to undergo the imprisonment.

"As I am not personally known to you, I beg to refer to Thomas Sturge, Esq., Northfleet House; or, in his absence, to George Sturge, Esq., Gravesend.

"Will you kindly take charge of any sums that may be paid in by any one for the use of these young men, and, after waiting a seasonable time, send a letter of credit for the amount to the Cashier of the Lorain Bank, in Elyria, State of Ohio, to be placed to my credit?

"I beg to remain, dear Sir,

"Your's very truly,

"HAMILTON HILL.

"L. A. Chamerovzow, Esq.,
"27, New Broad Street, London."

SIGNS OF PROGRESS.

We copy the following from the New-York *Radical Abolitionist*:

AGITATION IN MISSOURI—DENIAL OF LEGALITY OF SLAVERY—OPINION OF JUDGE MARSHALL, &c.

A speech was delivered some time ago, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, Jefferson City, Missouri, by James B. Gardenshire, President of the Jefferson City Land Company, which contains some declarations quite remarkable, as coming from that quarter. We must notice a few of them:

1.—*Fugitive Slave Bill at the South*.—Mr. Gardenshire denies the obligation to return fugitive slaves, as required in the Fugitive Slave Bill. He says:

"It is an anomaly. There is no such obligation between the citizens of the Slave States. We cannot here be made to help to catch runaway slaves, and any attempt to pass a law making it our duty to do so would meet the most decided opposition. A law making it our duty to quit our own affairs, and help our neighbours to catch their stray horses, would not be tolerated."

2.—*No Law for Slavery*.—Mr. G. adds—

"That it is the constitutional right of slave-owners to follow their runaway slaves into free territory, and recapture them, is beyond question; but as Slavery exists by force, and not by law, they ought to be left to their own exertions, aided alone by those who are willing to do so."

There seems here a little confusion an incongruity. If "Slavery exists by force and not by law," then catching runaway slaves is kidnapping—a high crime, to be tolerated nowhere by any body.

3.—Slavery Illegal according to Judge Marshall:

The civil law defines Slavery thus: "Slavery is an institution by the laws of nations, by which one man is subjected unto another man, as master contrary to nature." And Chief Justice Marshall, expounding this, says: "That Slavery is contrary to the laws of nature, will scarcely be denied; that every man has a right to the fruits of his own labour is generally admitted; and that no person can rightfully deprive him of these fruits, and appropriate them to his will, seems the necessary result of that admission."

4.—The Dred Scott Decision v. State Laws against Slavery.—Mr. G. says:

"If that decision is right, it is difficult to see how slavery can be kept out of any Territory, or any State even, formed since the adoption of the Constitution. If Congress has no power, and the people of the Territories none, whence does it come? Not from a Territorial Convention. It represents a Territory, not a State. In constitutional parlance, it cannot be such until admitted into the Union. All Territories must then be admitted as Slave States, and made otherwise, if at all, afterward; and where the power to do it afterward comes from is a puzzle. The people did not have it to keep, and Congress did not have it to give, and yet in a sovereign State it exists. What particular process creates it I have never been able to settle."

This describes correctly the doctrine of President Buchanan's Message. Mr. G. contends ably against the doctrine, but we fail to see why it does not apply to the original States as well as the new. Virginia is evidently intent on applying it to New York, in the case of Mr. Lemon's slaves.

Mr. Gardenshire confronts the pro-Slavery arguments, that "our Saviour did not condemn Slavery"—that "our slaves are better off than the white labourers of the North"—"that we enslave our children and apprentices until twenty-one years old." "All these arguments," says Mr. G., "prove too much, and enslave the white man as well as the negro."

5.—Absurdity of trying to legalize Slavery.—Says Mr. G.:

"The right to enslave one race includes the right to enslave all races, and the right to enslave all races includes the right to enslave any individual of any race. This rule would set us to catching and enslaving one another, and force alone, as between the Portuguese and African, could determine who should be the master and who the slave, reducing Slavery to its known origin and argument—brute force."

We are glad to see a Missourian, on Missourian soil, taking such strong ground, though we notice some incongruities and mistakes which we trust, Mr. G. will learn to correct in due time. As a whole, the speech was a noble one. He introduced at length, from Franklin's works, the speech of Sid Mehemit Ibrahim, the Divan of Algiers, in favour of enslaving Christians, as a *f^e* offset to Christian defences of enslaving

Africans. He adverted to the bombardment of Algiers by Com. Decatur, of the United States Navy in resistance to the enslavement of Americans and Europeans, in which he convinced them (the Algerines,) that Slavery was a debatable question, and that he was in favour of agitation. He vindicated the right of Northern emigrants to settle in Slave States, "for the purpose of changing our institutions," and made no secret of his desires for the accomplishment of that object in Missouri, remarking that, "It is not pretended that Congress, the representatives of all the States, can prevent our abolishing Slavery if we choose."

Exceptions to this latter statement should be made in view of the position of Virginia, Judge Taney, and President Buchanan, as noticed by Mr. G., unless a distinction, of little importance, be made between Congress and the Supreme Court.

EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS.

LORD BROUGHAM has recently taken the opportunity of paying a well-merited tribute of praise to the Emperor of Russia for instituting measures for the emancipation of the serfs throughout his empire. The following is an extract from a letter which his lordship lately addressed to the Earl of Radnor as President of the *Law-Amendment Society*.

"But I must here turn aside for a moment from our own jurisprudence, and the amendment of it, to congratulate you, which I do most heartily, upon the measure in contemplation, we may say actually begun, for effecting a great improvement, perhaps the greatest that can be conceived, in the legal system of a foreign country, and indeed, in its social state, a country far removed from us both by its position and its institutions, and where we might the least have hoped, even in this age of progress, to witness any change—I mean the Russian empire, with its vast population, the very great majority of which is in a state of personal, at least predial servitude, attached to the soil and property of its owners, as the inhabitants of the rest of Europe, even of England, were some centuries ago. The just and humane, but also the truly wise policy of the present Emperor, with the full concurrence of his most enlightened and best informed councillors, has of late taken the direction of preparing the complete emancipation of the serfs by safe and well-devised steps. The obstacles interposed by the ignorance and unreflecting prejudices of some among the upper classes of landowners greatly increase the merit of the sovereign, while they add to his difficulties; and the alarm which false views of their own interest have made them industriously raise, whether really felt by them or not, renders it a matter of doubt if we should dwell upon the subject in this country, lest our satisfaction may be ascribed to our prepossession in favour of whatever proceeds from, and supports, constitutional government, the object of our warm and just affections. The danger of popular movement, anti-Jacobin clamour, cry of French principles, and other topics

to which we were accustomed rather than reconciled during the Revolution, and which for a season destroyed some invaluable measures of improvement, and postponed so many more, might be the consequence in Russia of our gratification declared at popular meetings, as if we took part with the peasant against his lord. This apprehension I own it was that made me most reluctantly abstain, at the late *Social Science Congress*, from giving expression to my feelings of admiration and gratitude for the wise and generous conduct of the Russian Emperor and his able councillors. But what I now write will only have the limited circulation of a professional journal, and be confined to the perusal of professional men. On the mode and manner of making this great change I shall of course not now dwell, further than to express my earnest hope that the errors which either accompanied or soon after followed our colonial emancipation may be avoided, and that the gross inconsistency may not be committed of making great sacrifices for the compensation of the landowners, and then both greatly injuring them and their peasantry, by exposing them to the competition of foreign produce raised in more advantageous circumstances, as we let in the produce of foreign colonies, the fruits of the slave-trade, which we do our utmost to suppress, and thus at once encourage that execrable traffic, and injure our own planters and their liberated slaves. Nor is this the only great improvement which now engages the Russian Government. Important amendments of the judicial system, and considerable facilities to the press, are understood to be more than contemplated."

EXTRACTS FROM AMERICAN PAPERS.

WE purpose to insert, from time to time, extracts from American papers bearing upon Anti-Slavery subjects. It is to be understood that, in so doing, we preserve a strict neutrality in all cases where there is a collision of sentiment on any particular point.

SLAVERY IN MISSOURI.

"We have heard much of late about the progress of Anti-Slavery sentiment in Missouri, but we observe that a Bill repealing the statute prohibiting the importation of slaves into that State was adopted in the House of Representatives on the 31st ult.—83 to 15. The *St. Louis Democrat*, the organ of the so-called Emancipation Party of Missouri, says—

"This is simply a Bill to encourage the introduction of negro labour into this State. It makes no pretence of inviting the slaveholder—it only wants the slaves. It was justified by its mover, Mr. Abney, on the ground that labour was too high in Missouri, even negroes hiring at three hundred dollars a year, and that this was designed to *reduce the price of labour*. The question was well meditated, too, before it was passed upon; and the issue was made that this repeal

would invite the worthless slaves of other States here, to compete with the free white non-slaveholders, not less than with the slave labour of negroes now held in bondage here.

"This is the first move of the Pro-Slavery Party of Missouri against the white labourer. It is a deliberate scheme to reduce his wages, to bring the trifling negroes of other States here to compete with him; to make his avocation the receptacle of the bad and criminal offscourings of Slavery elsewhere; and to blast the employment, and lessen the earnings, of all free citizens of Missouri, who labour with their own hands for a living. We have long contended that Slavery in its nature was aggressive, and now we find pushing this conflict with free labour to the extreme limit of forbearance. We venture to predict that this alarm will not be heard without emotion, and that the battle which the Pro-Slavery Party has thus braved will be joined by their opponents with a spirit of which they little calculate the resistance. This act will be the signal for the organization by the free white working-men of every county in the State, to meet *en masse*, and by solid unity of strength, repel this daring attempt to drive them from their homesteads, and plant in their places the servile sweepings of the jail-yards of the Southern States. And when that compact front of free labour shall be organized, and shall march to the conflict, we may then mark the end of Slavery in Missouri."

"These words have a brave sound, but we have little faith in the emancipationists of Missouri, who avowedly exclude the slaves from their sympathy, and urge a gradual abolition, to be followed by banishment, of the emancipated class, for the exclusive benefit of white labourers. Anti-Slavery of this sort is selfish and cruel, and therefore spurious."—*National Anti-Slavery Standard*.

ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

EXCLUSION OF FREE NEGROES FROM POLITICAL RIGHTS.—In twenty-four of the thirty-two States, negroes are allowed no political privileges with the white race. Eleven of these twenty-four States are free. New York practically excludes them by a freehold qualification and a long residence before voting. Two more—Maine and Rhode Island—exclude them by requiring all voters to be citizens of the United States. Massachusetts and New Hampshire are about the only States that make no distinction of colour or race, and there they are not allowed to serve in the militia.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.—In beautiful illustration of the equity and humanity of the Fugitive Slave Law, a father is imprisoned in Washington for harbouring his own child! The father is a free negro, the mother a slave, and the child came home from a distant part of the city to see his father, remaining two or three days. For the shelter and food given, the father now lies in jail!